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THE

MEMORIAL

HISTORY OF BOSTON,

INCLUDING

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

1630—1880.

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR,

LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

V. 4, pt. 1

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. PART II.

SPECIAL TOPICS.

Issued under the business superintendence of the projector,

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52

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THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.

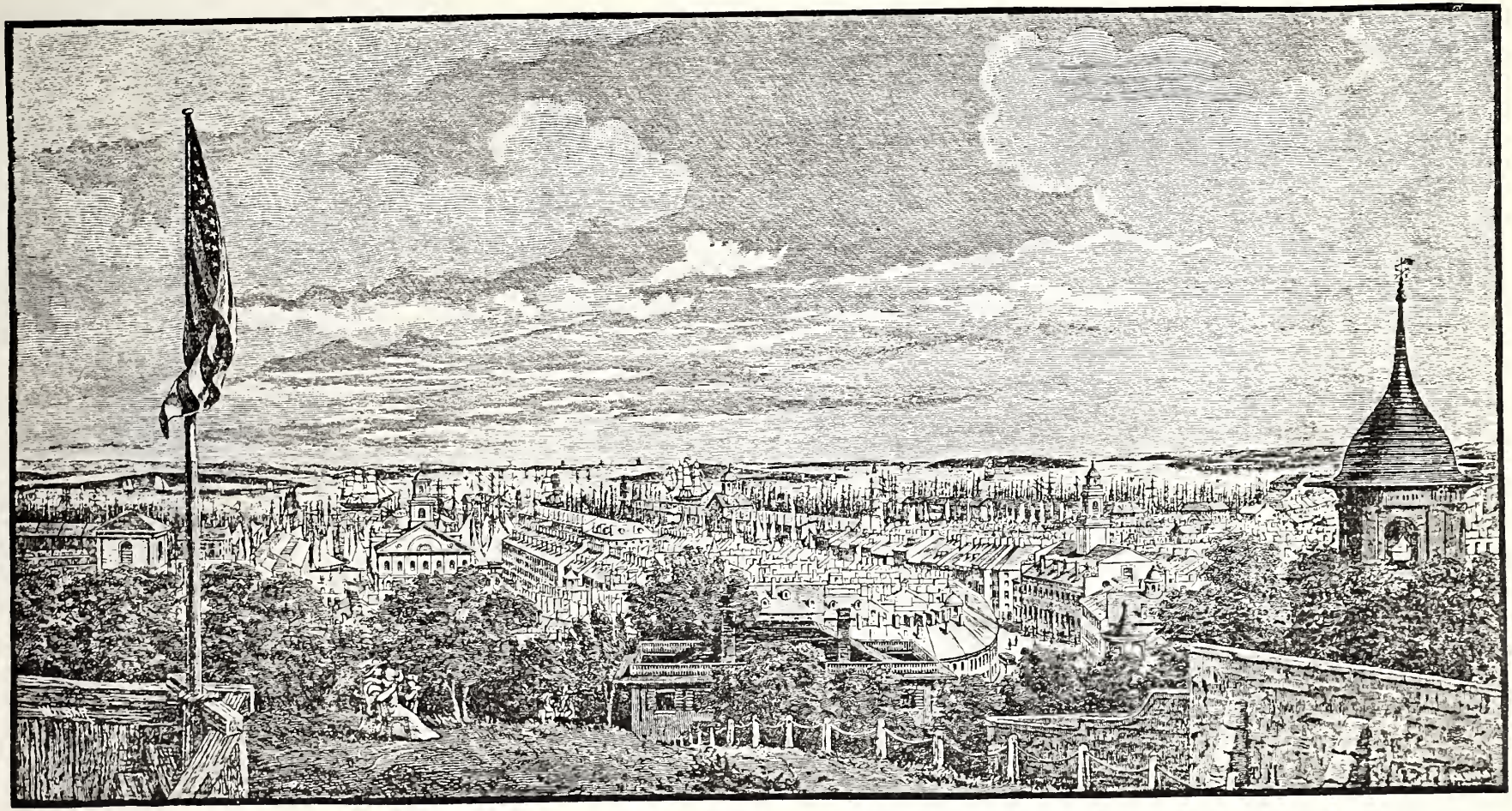
SEPTEMBER 17, 1880.

Look upon . . . the city of our solemnities. — ISAIAH xxxiii. 20.

And there was great joy in that city. — ACTS viii. 8

Now the city was large and great. — NEHEMIAH vii. 4.

A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. — MATTHEW v. 14.



VIEW FROM COTTON OR PEMBERTON HILL, 1816.

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CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

FRONTISPIECE. View from Pemberton Hill in 1816 (described on p. 69)
Facing titlepage

The Last Hundred Years.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

SOCIAL LIFE IN BOSTON. *Josiah P. Quincy* 1

ILLUSTRATIONS: Sir Isaac Coffin, 3; John Hancock, 5; Samuel Eliot, 7; State Street (in 1801), 12; West End of Old State House (in 1793), 12; Peace Extra, Feb. 15, 1815, 21.

AUTOGRAPHS: Isaac Coffin, 3; John Hancock, 5.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY AND LANDMARKS OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. *Edward Stanwood* 25

ILLUSTRATIONS: Carleton's Map of Boston (1797), *heliotype*, 25; Dearborn's plan of Back Bay and Milldam, *heliotype*, 33; View from Fort Hill (in 1806), 47; Scollay's Building, 56; Down Court Street, 57; Exchange Coffee House, 58; Tremont Street Mall, 60; Frog Pond, 61; Intersection of Washington, Winter, and Summer streets, 62.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES. *The Editor* 64

ILLUSTRATIONS: State House and the Monument (in 1811), 64; the Monument from the corner of Temple and Derne streets, 65; the Monument and the Thurston House, 65; Beacon Street and the Common (in 1804–1811), *heliotype*, 65; Boston from Breed's Hill (in 1791), 66; the Faneuil-Phillips House, 67; Lamb Tavern, 68.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDUSTRIES OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. *Carroll D. Wright* and *Horace G. Wadlin* 69

AUTOGRAPH: William Frobisher, 72.

CHAPTER IV.

BOSTON AS A CENTRE OF MANUFACTURING CAPITAL. *Edward Atkinson* . . 95

ILLUSTRATION: Nathan Appleton, 105.

CHAPTER V.

THE CANAL AND RAILROAD ENTERPRISE OF BOSTON. *Charles Francis Adams, Jr.* 111

ILLUSTRATIONS: Gridley Bryant, 117; Thomas Handasyd Perkins, 118; the Granite Railway, 120; Nathan Hale, 124; Railroad Advertisement, fac-simile, 128; Thomas B. Wales, 136; Josiah Quincy, Jr., 137; J. W. Brooks, 145.

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE IN BOSTON. *Henry P. Kidder* and *Francis H. Peabody* 151

ILLUSTRATIONS: Jonathan Jackson, 154; William Gray, 158; John Eliot Thayer, 176.

CHAPTER VII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF INSURANCE IN BOSTON. *Osborne Howes, Jr.* . . . 179

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRADE, COMMERCE, AND NAVIGATION OF BOSTON, 1780–1880. *Hamilton Andrews Hill* 195

Special Topics.

CHAPTER I.

EDUCATION, PAST AND PRESENT. *Charles K. Dillaway* 235

ILLUSTRATION: The Old Latin School, 241.

CHAPTER II.

LIBRARIES IN BOSTON. *Justin Winsor* 279

ILLUSTRATIONS: John Lowell, 285; Charles Coffin Jewett, 289.

AUTOGRAPH: John Lowell, 285.

CHAPTER III.

PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHT IN BOSTON. *George Ripley* and *George P. Bradford* . 295

ILLUSTRATIONS: John T. Kirkland, 297; William E. Channing, 303; George Ripley, 309.

AUTOGRAPHS: John T. Kirkland, 297; Andrews Norton, 299; William E. Channing, 303; R. W. Emerson, 304.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WOMEN OF BOSTON. *Ednah D. Cheney* 331

ILLUSTRATION: Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis, 355.

CHAPTER V.

THE DRAMA IN BOSTON. *William W. Clapp* 357

ILLUSTRATIONS: Boston Theatre Bill, Sept. 28, 1796, 361; the First Boston Theatre, 363; Bill of the Opening Night of the Haymarket Theatre, Dec. 26, 1796, *heliotype*, 363; Haymarket Theatre, 364; a Letter by Edmund Kean, *heliotype*, 366; Charlotte Cushman, 368; John Gilbert, 370.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FINE ARTS IN BOSTON. *Arthur Dexter* 383

ILLUSTRATIONS: Copley's "Boy and the Squirrel," 388; Gilbert Stuart, 390; Washington Allston, 393; Allston's "Titania's Court," 396; Hunt's "Discoverer," 400; and "Flight of Night," 401; Story's Statue of Colonel Prescott, 410; Ball's Statue of Washington, 412.

AUTOGRAPH: Washington Allston, 393.

CHAPTER VII.

MUSIC IN BOSTON. *John S. Dwight* 415

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHITECTURE IN BOSTON. *Charles A. Cummings* 465

ILLUSTRATIONS: Charles Bulfinch, 472; The Bulfinch Medal, 473; The Tontine buildings, 474; Spire of Hollis Street Meeting-House, 477; The Art Museum, *heliotype*, 484; The First Church, 485; Tower of the New Brattle-Square Church, 486; The New Old South, 487; New Trinity Church, *heliotype*, 488.

AUTOGRAPHS: Charles Bulfinch, 472; Solomon Willard, 476.

CHAPTER IX.

BOSTON AND SCIENCE. *Joseph Lovering* 489

ILLUSTRATIONS: Professor John Winthrop, 494; Nathaniel Bowditch, 506; Edward Bromfield, 509.

AUTOGRAPHS: John Winthrop, 494; Nathaniel Bowditch, 506; Edward Bromfield, 509.

CHAPTER X.

MEDICINE IN BOSTON. *Samuel A. Green* 527

ILLUSTRATIONS: Fac-simile of Earliest Medical Treatise printed in British America, 536; Dr. John Warren's receipt in fac-simile, 544; Medical college in Mason Street, 544; Doctor Waterhouse's inoculation ticket, 546; Dr. James Lloyd, 547.

AUTOGRAPHS: Thomas Bulfinch, 541; John Warren, 544; Benjamin Waterhouse, 546.

ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA. *Oliver Wendell Holmes* 549

CHAPTER XI.

THE BENCH AND BAR IN BOSTON. *John T. Morse, Jr.* 571

ILLUSTRATIONS: Richard Dana, 581; Christopher Gore, 589; Daniel Webster, 596; Joseph Story, 600; Verses by Story, fac-simile, 601; Rufus Choate, 603; Lemuel Shaw, 605.

AUTOGRAPHS: Thomas Lechford, 571, Jeremy Gridley, 574; John Read, 574; Robert Auchmuty, senior and junior, 577; Benjamin Kent, 578; O. Thacher, 578; Jona. Sewall, 579; Edmund Trowbridge, 580; Richard Dana, 581; Josiah Quincy, 583; Samuel Quincy, 584; John Lowell, 585; Justices of the Supreme Court (Francis Dana, R. T. Paine, Increase Sumner, Thomas Dawes, Jr.), 586; Theodore Sedgwick, 586; Christopher Gore, 589; Theophilus Parsons, 593; William Prescott, 598; Rufus Choate, 603; Lemuel Shaw, 606.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HORTICULTURE OF BOSTON AND VICINITY. *Marshall P. Wilder* . . . 607

ILLUSTRATIONS: The Beacon Street mall, 611; The Brewer fountain, 614; The Public Garden, 616.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHARITIES OF BOSTON. *George S. Hale* 641

ILLUSTRATIONS: Extract from Amos Lawrence's diary, 642; Order by the President and Council, 644; Order of Selectmen and Overseers of Poor (1779), 651; Records of the Scots' Charitable Society, 659; Records of the Quarterly Charity Lecture, 660.

AUTOGRAPHS: Amos Lawrence, 642; Josiah Franklin, 645; Overseers of the Poor, 1707 (Thomas Palmer, William Welsteed, John Boule, John Ruck, Samuel Keeling, Ezekiel Lewis, Benj. Pemberton), 647; Committee for erecting a workhouse, 1739 (Edward Hutchinson, Jacob Wendell, James Bowdoin, Samuel Sewall, Daniel Henchman, Andrew Oliver), 648; John Scollay, 651; Harl. Dorr, 651; Samuel Partridge, 651; Robert Porteous, 660; T. H. Perkins, 661; Samuel G. Howe, 661; Joseph Tuckerman, 662.

GENERAL INDEX 675

THE

MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.

The Last Hundred Years.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

SOCIAL LIFE IN BOSTON: FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION TO THE GRANTING OF THE CITY CHARTER.

BY J. P. QUINCY.

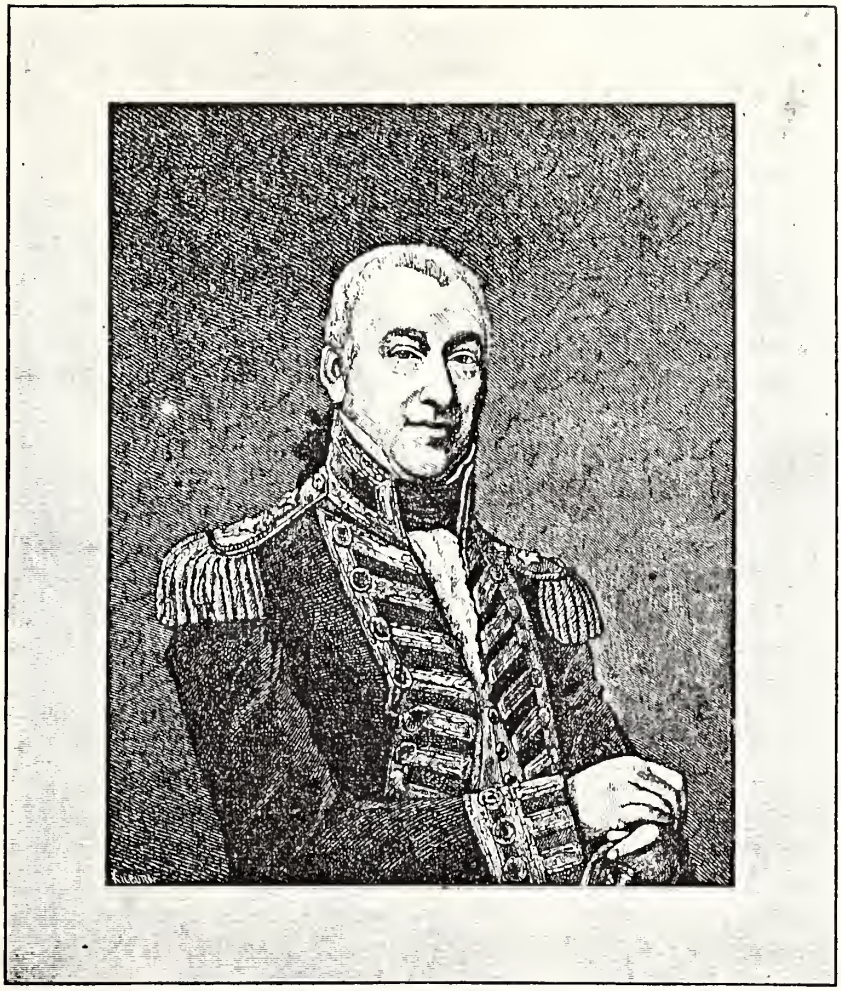
IN giving some notices of manners and social life during this period, I shall speak first of usages which were characteristic of the close of the last century: most of them continued without essential modification until our city charter swept away the old landmarks, and Boston felt the impulses which mark a new epoch in her history. It is difficult to deal justly with ways of living which are not widely different from those that surround us. We miss the salient contrasts which lend themselves to picturesque description, and are tempted to look for exceptional occurrences to brighten a narrative, rather than for facts which are truly symptomatic of taste and thought. Were it possible to go back four-score years, or even a century, and mingle with those then conducting the town, we should not feel among strangers. In many respects their ways were counterparts of our own. In certain directions, indeed, we might note a narrowness of range and a contraction of outlook, while envying the vigor of speech and decisiveness of action which seemed the outcome of the limitations. When Massachusetts took her place in the sisterhood of States, the gigantic upheaval of the French Revolution had not taken place. The prophets whom her capital was to raise up to demand the redemption of human society, each with his panacea for its sad ailments, had put in no appearance. The tyranny of England had been broken by an heroic effort, and any further redemption which society might need would be provided by those who

were its natural protectors. Humanity was now marching the right way, and was not likely to deviate therefrom when officered by gentlemen of good family, good morals, and steady nerves. So it seemed in that spring of 1789, when the American Constitution went into operation, and the States-General assembled in France.

There were distinctions in Boston society which were the inheritance of old colonial and provincial relations. Although many of the gentry left the town during the Revolution, there remained a goodly leaven of prominent families who had taken the patriotic side. The population was chiefly of English descent. A type of manhood ruddier and more robust than we are accustomed to meet, was to be seen in the streets. The citizens managed to be as comfortable at sixty degrees Fahrenheit as we are at seventy, and knew little of dyspepsia and those disordered nerve-centres which occasion their descendants so much trouble. Many of the peculiarities of Puritanism had been softened, and so much of the old severity as remained supported the moral standards which the God-fearing founders of the State had raised. A few men were accepted as the leaders of the community, and lived under a wholesome conviction of responsibility for its good behavior. If the representatives of good society were in no sense cosmopolitan, their provincialism was honest, manly, and intelligent. The usages of social intercourse were not democratic, neither was the sentiment of the prominent families. If heresies were in the air which must at length modify doctrine, they might still be rendered harmless by a careful attention to discipline.[1]

Dress was an indication of superiority, and was fashioned quite as much for display as for use. As late as 1795, it is mentioned by a visitor from New York that "the broad aisle of Brattle-Street church was lined by gentlemen in wigs, with cocked hats and scarlet coats." Caps were often worn by gentlemen in the privacy of domestic life. Hancock is described as wearing "a red velvet cap, within which was one of fine linen." The blue damask dressing-gowns and embroidered waistcoats of the period are yet visible upon the canvas of Copley. As wigs were gradually laid aside, the hair was powdered and arranged with precision; and as this took more time and trouble, it served to mark even better the aristocracy of the wearer. Lace ruffles, silk stockings, polished shoes, with buckles (which, being adapted to either foot, careful persons were accustomed to alternate), were essential to the correct dress of a gentleman. The business suit was of broadcloth, generally of a light shade. But on occasions of ceremony

[1] [Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 8, in giving a picture of social life after the close of the Revolutionary War, says: "In Boston there was undoubtedly more real respectability than in any other town of its population in the British Empire;" and we find not a few side-lights upon society here in the *Voyages* of the Marquis de Chastellux, who was here in 1782, and in the voyage of Brissot de Warville, a brisk little Frenchman who landed in Boston July, 1788, and was disposed to see all the good, and who later, in 1798, as Chief of the Girondins, met his end on the guillotine. Talleyrand was in Boston in July and August, 1794. William Sullivan describes him as of middle stature, light hair, sallow complexion, and blue eyes; his body large and protuberant in front, his lower limbs small, and his feet deformed. *Public Men*, p. 93. — ED.]



His Britannic Majesty's Ship Allegator
Boston Harbor 5th May 1791

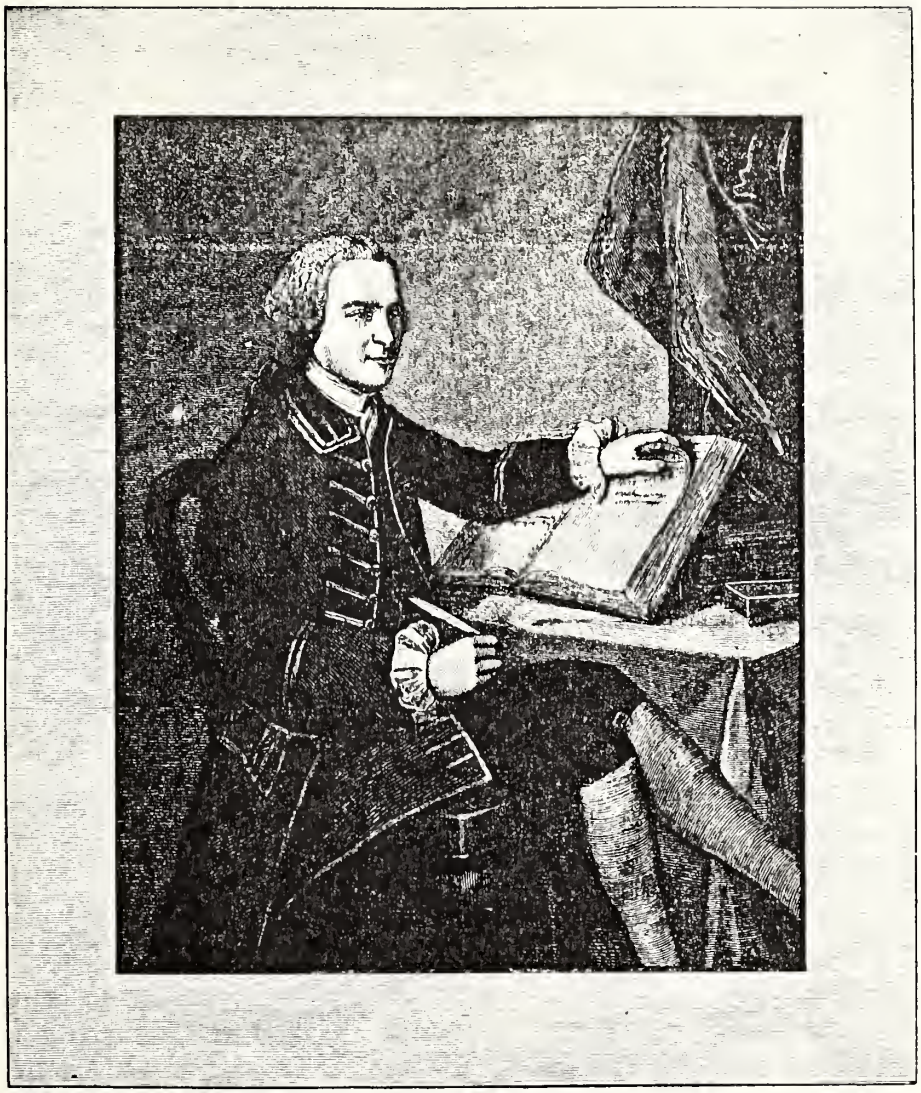
Isaac Coffin

[1] [This cut follows a portrait of Sir Isaac Coffin by Stuart, belonging to Mr. William Amory, of Boston, by whose kind permission it is engraved. Coffin was the son of Nathaniel, a collector of customs in Boston, and a Loyalist, who left the town with Gage in 1776. Isaac was born in Boston, in 1759, in a house on the east side of Rainsford Lane (Harrison

brocades and velvets of bright colors made the costumes of the gentlemen quite as various and picturesque as those of the ladies. Official personages did not always avoid peculiarities of dress. Governor Bowdoin had appeared in red small-clothes, and Judge Dana wore in winter a white corduroy surtout, lined with fur; and he carried a large muff. Crimson cloaks, white-topped boots, and cocked hats gave that pleasing color to a walk about town which is now supplied by the shop-windows. The judges of the supreme court shone in robes of scarlet, trimmed with black velvet, and only during the oppressive heat of summer exchanged this oppressive finery for the sombre dignity of gowns of black silk. At the funeral of Governor Hancock the court appeared for the last time in full dress. It has been said that the bearing of Judge Dawes, who was less than five feet in height, so detracted from the emblematic significance of the judicial trappings, that the chief-justice decided that the unadorned majesty of the law would thereafter be more imposing. But a better explanation may be found in the visits to Boston of the Federal judges Jay and Iredell, who were content to administer justice in suits of solemn black. The growing popularity of Gallic principles commended simplicity of dress to conspicuous functionaries of the State. The academic gown, nevertheless, was pretty generally resumed in the pulpit. It seems to have been discarded by the successors of the earlier divines, and looked so strange upon the clergy that it was mistaken for the surplice of prelacy, and the sneer was uttered that vanity had finally accomplished what persecution was powerless to effect. This, however, was most unjust to the ministers, whose gowns were commonly the gifts of parishioners, and who were well aware that it was poverty rather than will which had led to the discarding of this dignified drapery. And there were reasons for reviving any good customs fallen into abeyance, which had their weight, even if not distinctly recognized. Independence in political feeling tended to communicate itself to social relations, and it was prudent to strengthen barriers while there was yet time.

Notwithstanding political embarrassments, Boston society took its sober amusements with relish. It went through its stately minuets, and livelier contre-dances, and consumed its solid suppers in rooms which in winter were made so cheerful by the glow of great logs that the flickering light of candles was not objectionable. When Jefferson, at the end of the century, added argand lamps to the various illuminations associated with his name, he initiated a deterioration in social intercourse from which it is not likely to recover. So long as artificial light was provided by tallow candles, requiring constant snuffing (for it was only the wealthy who used those of

Avenue, between Essex and Beach Streets), and was educated in the Boston schools. He entered the Royal Navy in 1773, and served on the American coast during the Revolution; became a rear-admiral in 1804, and was made a baronet the same year, and died in 1839. His brother John, also born in Boston, in 1751, was on the British side at Bunker Hill, and fought later in the war against us in the Carolinas. After the war he settled in New Brunswick, where he died in 1838, ranking then as lieutenant-general. Both the admiral and the general cherished strong feelings of respect for their old home; and in later days Sir Isaac was more than once a guest of his old townsmen. Sabine's *Loyalists*. — Ed.]



I am
Your most Obed^t
John Hancock[1]

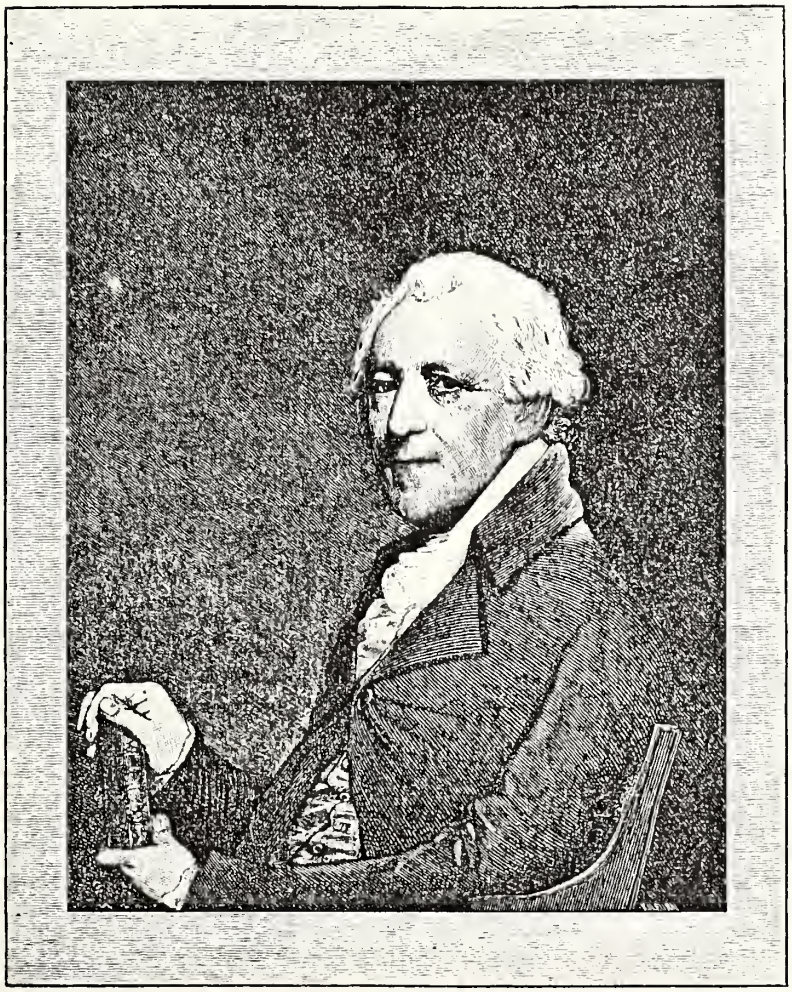
[1] [This cut follows a portrait by Copley, formerly hanging in Faneuil Hall, but now in the Art Museum. See the note to the portrait of Sam Adams, in Mr. Porter's chapter in Vol. III. Two other likenesses, owned by the family, are noted in Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 70. A portrait of Mrs. Hancock is given in Mrs. Ellet's *Queens of American Society*, p. 119, with some account of social life at the Hancock mansion. Portions of the Hancock papers are in the collections of Charles P. Greenough, Esq., and of Judge Mellen Chamberlain, and these gentlemen have kindly allowed the Editor access to them. See note in Mr. Lodge's chapter. — Ed.]

wax), reading or studying in the evening were difficult matters, especially for aged eyes. Under these circumstances society was the resort for rational recreation and solid instruction. Its standards were established, not by the young and frivolous, but by persons of years and experience, who from constant practice became skilled in the art of conversation. I have little doubt that social dinners or evening gatherings during the last thirty years of the town exceeded in intellectual brilliancy those which have succeeded them. The conclusions of thoughtful men upon matters of current interest, now reserved for the magazine and newspaper leader, were given in conversation. Women of talent, although limited in what at present passes for education, cultivated their natural powers; and, being shut out from so many modes of influence now happily open, they made good use of the social opportunities which were accorded them.

There was a decided first circle in the town, to which the barriers were not easily broken; though, as time went on, fortunate individuals were lifted over them with some ceremony. Manners and personal decorations were indications of superiority. William Sullivan used to say that dignified civility, based upon self-respect, was a gentleman's weapon and defence. It was peculiarly so in Boston, where the duel, tolerated or justified in other parts of the country, has always been frowned upon. From the fact that lines of social demarcation were sharply drawn, there was an ease of intercourse among different classes which came from a recognition of mutual dependence. Mr. Samuel Breck tells us of smart and intelligent tradesmen who were on terms of familiarity with their superiors in station. The shop of Balch the hatter "was the principal lounge even of the first people in the town. Governor Hancock himself would happen into this popular resort, ready for a joke or a political discussion with Balch and his company." After slavery came to an end,[1] the families of New England farmers supplied Boston with most of its domestic service. Long periods of faithful ministration made these attendants a recognized portion of the household. They were called to its councils upon important occasions, and exercised authority over the children, among whom they were often very popular. The women who came from the farms had little of the education derived from books, but a good deal of natural capacity. Their abundant resources in sickness, and their excellent cookery for those in health, were long remembered. They showed much shrewdness and tact, mingled with ineradicable prejudices; some of their sayings passed into domestic proverbs, from their aptness or oddity. Identity of religion was a bond of union

[1] [Slavery was never explicitly abolished in Massachusetts; but in the famous Jennison case, tried at Worcester in 1781, it was declared that slavery no longer existed. Governor Washburn prepared a careful review of it, which was printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1857, p. 188. See also Amory's *Life of James Sullivan*, i. 114. Chief-Justice Cushing's original notebook of this trial was printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1874, with valuable notes by Judge Gray. There are diverse views of the intent of the Bill of Rights to abolish slavery. See Washburn's lecture in *Massachusetts, and Her Early History*, p. 224; G. H. Moore's *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, ch. ix., and *Hist. Mag.*, December, 1866; Chas. Deane in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1874; also Vol. I. p. 488, of this History. — Ed.]

between employers and employed. The same pastor directed both, and an occasional sermon to servants and apprentices was expected in the course of his ministrations.



SAMUEL ELIOT.[1]

The sharp line of division between youth and age can scarcely be realized in these days, when there is no distinct order of old people set apart for special deference. Our feelings towards others are greatly influenced by the phrases we are taught to use; and sincere respect naturally followed

[1] [This cut follows a portrait of this prominent Boston merchant of his day, by Stuart, now owned by his grandson, President Eliot, of Harvard College, by whose permission it is engraved. The President also owns the companion piece, by Stuart, — the second wife of this Samuel Eliot, Catharine Atkins, who died in 1829. Samuel Eliot, who was the son of Samuel, the bookseller, was born in 1740, and died in 1820. The earlier Samuel was one of the publishers of one of Boston's earliest magazines, — *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, — of which mention has been made in Mr. Goddard's chapter in Vol. II. pp. 409, 550. The younger Sam-

its conventional expressions. In the family of Judge Phillips,[1] which in many respects was representative, the children were required to address their parents as "honored papa," and "honored mamma," and could never enter or leave a room where they were sitting without a salutation which recognized their presence. It was proper for a young man when writing to his father to salute him as "honored sir," and to repeat this stately title at the close of what he had to say, declaring, at the same time, the duty and respect with which he humbly appended his signature. But when postage was a quarter of a dollar a sheet, letters were confined to matters of serious concern, and formalities seemed more appropriate than at present. The use of a heavy seal, stamped upon a generous quantity of wax, was sufficient to excite a feeling of responsibility for matter that was so protected. Writing a letter had something of the impressiveness of making a will or executing a deed of trust. Even the town officers were mindful of the fact that the phrase, "servants of the people," correctly defined their position. A demand for over-due taxes, necessary to pay schoolmasters and mechanics the wages they had earned, does not call for much suavity of speech; but the manners of the town treasurer towards persons who were neglecting the first duty of good citizenship could not have been bettered by Chesterfield himself.[2]

Domestic discipline had lost little of its Puritanic sternness. The primary teacher was a long rod, with a human motor at one end of it. Prompt punishment fell upon the offender. The moral law was to be vindicated without puzzling calculations concerning the responsibility of the sufferer. The discipline administered by the hands of Judge Sewall is paralleled by that of a not less honorable justice of later date. People of intelligence have so changed in their treatment of juvenile offenders, that it is worth

uel, the merchant, lived on the northerly corner of Tremont and Beacon streets, his grounds stretching up the latter street. It was the mansion house which, soon after the evacuation in March, 1776, had been occupied by John Lowell, Jr. Eliot's dry-goods shop was on the west corner of Wilson's Lane, Dock Square. (Drake, *Landmarks*, 56.) He was at one time President of the Massachusetts Bank, and he also founded the Eliot professorship of Greek literature in Harvard College. His first wife was Elizabeth Barrell, who died in 1783. His issue by his second wife connect him with prominent citizens within the recollection of the present generation. His daughters married Edmund Dwight, Benjamin Guild, Andrews Norton, and George Ticknor. His son, William H., the projector of the Tremont House, died in 1831, and was the father of Dr. Samuel Eliot, formerly President of Trinity College, Hartford, and lately Superintendent of Schools in Boston. His youngest son, Samuel A. Eliot, who married the daughter of Theodore Lyman, was Treasurer of Harvard College, and Mayor of Boston. See an account of his mayoralty in Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. His eldest son is President Eliot, of Harvard University; and his youngest daughter, the wife of Rev. Henry W. Foote. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1869, p. 339 — Ed.]

[1] [It was in the house (at the corner of Court and Tremont streets) of this Judge Phillips that Washington was received during his visit to Boston in 1789. When the General left, a piece of ribbon was tied upon the chair which he had occupied, and there remained till his death, when a band of crape was substituted. — Ed.]

[2] "The Town Treasurer presents his most respectful compliments to those citizens who have tax-bills unpaid, and requests the favor of them to pay the same to the collectors immediately, as he has large drafts from the Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor in favor of mechanics, schoolmasters, and others, to whom, especially at the present season, money would be very acceptable." — *Columbian Centinel*, Dec. 16, 1795.

while to quote a passage from Mr. Amory's interesting biography of Judge Sullivan, which gives a fair picture of former habits: —

"When one of his sons, still too young to realize very distinctly the difference between right and wrong, exchanged a knife he had borrowed of a servant for cake an itinerant dealer had tempted him to purchase, his father, learning the circumstances on his return from his office, investigated the facts, and then bade the child follow him to the stable. Selecting as he went a knotted stick, he first impressed upon the mind of the child a full sense of the injustice and criminality of his conduct, and, that he might not forget the admonition, administered a severe chastisement."

It is easy to condemn such heroic dealing with the faults of children, — easier, perhaps, than to show that those modern doctrines, which consider sin an infirmity of nerve element for which our ancestors and environments are responsible, tend to lessen the power of that unpleasant factor in this earthly life.

Funerals were occasions of much ceremony, and all associations with the close of life were of a gloomy character. The doleful sound from the tombs, to which a favorite hymn challenged the attention, was audible in all the pauses of existence. The windows of the house which death had entered were closed for a long period, and the mourners nursed their grief as if to make strongest claim for the comfort promised in the beatitude. Those who lost parents wore mourning for three years, and widows never left it off. The dead were carried by bearers, and must be borne past the town house or through a portion of the main street. Nothing was omitted from the rites of sepulture which might add a pang to the pain of separation. It is to the honor of Boston that here was initiated that system of garden cemeteries which has done so much to invest the close of life with soothing associations. The tender allusion to the gardens of Eden and Gethsemane in the poem of Charles Sprague, at the dedication of Mount Auburn, exhibits a feeling of which there is small trace in our earlier mortuary literature.[1]

As wealth increased, public amusements made their appearance. The evolution of the theatre through the "moral lecture" it is not within my province to notice.[2] Shakespeare, in shreds and patches, preceded the advent of the stage. *A Dialogue on the Horrid Crime of Murder, by Mr. and Mrs. Smith*, was the forerunner of the noble tragedy of *Macbeth*, which was played before the close of the century. For that large portion of the people who were unwilling to patronize dramatic entertainments other recreation was provided. Some of the shows of the day testify to the tastes of our ancestors, as well as to the resources of those who catered for their patron-

[1] "His word we trust! When life shall end,
Here be our long, long slumber passed;
To the first garden's doom we bend,
And bless the promise of the last."

[2] [See the chapter by Colonel W. W. Clapp in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

age. At the Columbian Museum might be seen "an elegant temple of fame," tenanted by the waxen image of John Adams, "on either side of him Liberty with staff and cap, and Justice with sword and balance." Confronting each other in the same plastic material were "the New York Beauty" and "the Boston Beauty," — the latter, it is to be hoped, presenting a suitable superiority in charms. "Sir Charles Grandison and the beautiful Miss Harriet Byron" were represented as characters well known to all acquainted with literature, — there being as yet no struggle for existence in an overpopulated world of romance. Those who found that Sunday was not long enough to exhaust their interest in Scriptural personages might gaze on "David and Goliath as large as life; Goliath being twelve feet in height." Exhibitions of animals were occasionally brought to Boston. A porcupine, a bear, a raccoon, and a rabbit were announced by their proprietor as "very great curiosities." There was an elephant which, in conformity with the habits of the day, drank "all kinds of spirituous liquors;" and the public were assured that "thirty bottles of porter, of which he draws the corks himself, is not an uncommon allowance." Neither would the proverbial "short life and a merry one" hold good in the case of this gigantic toper; spectators were informed that "he will probably live between two and three hundred years," — an announcement which shows that the effect of alcohol upon animal tissue was not then so well understood as it is thought to be at present. After witnessing these exhibitions our ancestors might refresh themselves at Vila's, the Shakespeare Coffee-house in Water Street, or the more aristocratic restaurant of Julien. If ladies were of the party, they may have visited a confectioner's shop on Newberry Street, where ice-cream was to be had. It seems strange that this refreshing article was seldom or never seen at private parties during the period of which I have to treat. But there was no system for storing the abundant product of New-England winters, and the age of essences was yet to come: we find the dealer in ice-cream using the newspaper to remind his patrons that "the fruit-flavors of raspberry, strawberry, currant, and pineapple" could be furnished only in the seasons of those productions.

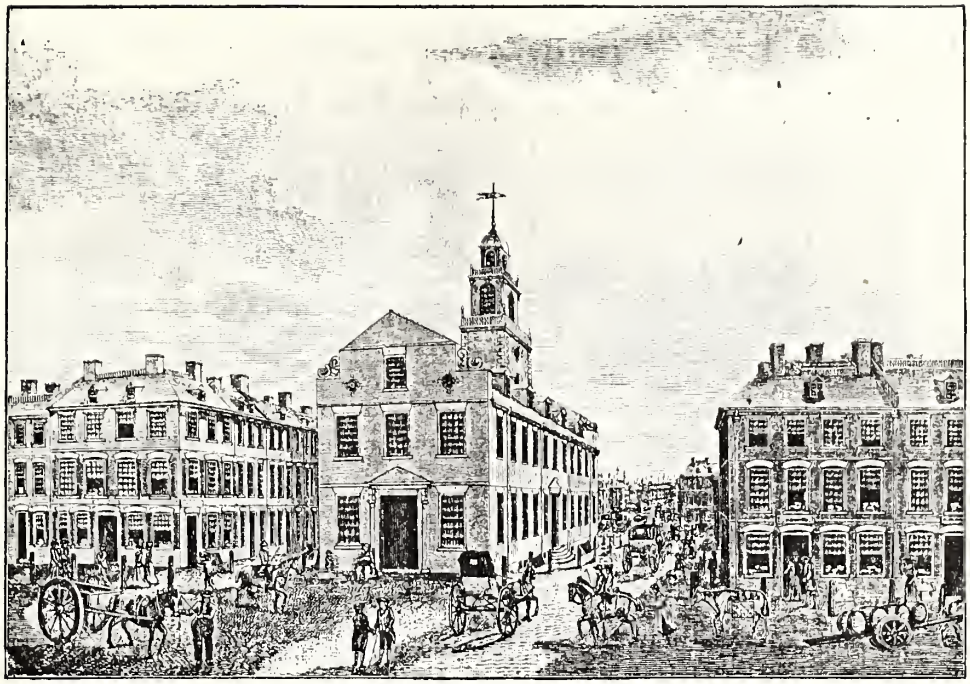
In writing of life in Boston during the closing decade of the last century, it is impossible to omit some reference to the convulsion in France which so deeply affected the course of history in America, as well as throughout the civilized world. The opening acts of the French Revolution had excited general satisfaction, and it was confidently expected that our generous allies were to enjoy a system of liberty as rational as our own. If the cooler heads were sceptical upon the subject, they could not protest against the hopeful current of public opinion; and, notwithstanding some untoward events, that current received little check until it culminated in the civic banquet of 1793. Two days after the execution of Louis XVI. a festival was held in Boston to celebrate the reign of righteousness which the revolutionists of France had inaugurated on earth. A New-England January

is not the most favorable time for feasting in the open air; but the enthusiasm was warm enough to disregard the thermometer. An ox of one thousand pounds' weight had been roasted whole. The horns of the animal having been gilt, it was lifted upon a car twenty feet high; and, posing as "a peace-offering to Liberty and Equality," was drawn by fifteen horses through the principal streets. Two hogsheads of punch, each drawn by six horses, and a cart bearing a generous quantity of bread, made up the procession. A table was laid in State Street[1] from the Old State House to near Kilby Street, and about this board the friends of Gallic liberty were to express their feelings over the beef and punch. I copy the words of a correspondent of the *Centinel*, as giving such a picture of the proceedings as the newspapers of the day saw fit to publish: —

"While the streets, houses, yea, even the chimney-tops, were covered with male spectators, the balconies and middle stories exhibited bevies of our amiable and beautiful women, who by their smiles and approbation cast a pleasing lustre over the festive scene."

It is unpleasant to add anything to this gracious record of the occasion, but it is nevertheless ascertainable that the banquet terminated in an uproar; that pieces of the ox were thrown into the air, and were even directed towards those bevies of beautiful women whom the reporter had beheld so lavish of their smiles. While the multitude were feeding or rioting in State Street, a select minority of the friends of Equality, to the number of nearly four hundred, partook of a more elaborate dinner in Faneuil Hall. Here Citizen S. Adams acted as president, and Citizen Waters furnished the decorations. Among the devices of this latter gentleman appeared an obelisk bearing in front a figure of Liberty trampling upon crown, sceptre, mitre, and broken chains, a cherub holding wreaths and palms with appropriate inscriptions, and above all "the benign eye of Providence" contemplating with satisfaction the proceedings below. In the course of the commemoration a committee from Charlestown was introduced to announce that the citizens of that place would drink the health of the citizens of Boston at four o'clock, "whereupon it was voted that the citizens of Boston should return this compliment at a quarter past four, under a discharge of artillery." For why should not the heavens bruit again the rouse of democrats as well as that of royalty? The descendants of the Puritans seem to

[1] [The lower view on the next page gives State Street very much as it must have looked at the time of the jubilation in honor of the French Republic, seven or eight years earlier. The picture is in oils, and was painted by J. B. Marston about 1801; and it is now in the Historical Society's rooms, — *Proceedings*, Feb. 1878, p. 38. It is also interesting as one in a series of views of the Old State House, showing the changes in its appearance. The earliest seems to be the contemporary copper-plate of the Boston Massacre (east end), reproduced in Mr. Porter's chapter on the "Beginning of the Revolution." Then there are the engraving given in this History, Vol. II., 507; the copper-plate (west end), also from the *Mass. Mag.*, July, 1793, and reproduced on the next page and given in heliotype in the *Evacuation Memorial;* that in Shaw's *Description of Boston*, 1817, also in Hales's *Survey of Boston*, 1821, giving the east end; that in Snow's *Boston*, 1825, p. 280 (east end); and Salmon's view, 1832 (east end), with flames bursting from the building. The present French roof on the building is a recent modification. — ED.]



OLD STATE HOUSE, WEST END.

STATE STREET IN 1801.

have borrowed the temperament of the French as well as their symbols. Cloudless was the outlook for humanity, as the flowing bumpers were drained on that auspicious day. A bad omen was not to be tolerated; the resources of exegesis must make it a good one. When a balloon refused to bear heavenward a scroll proclaiming Liberty and Equality, it was happily suggested that, as the denizens of the air needed not these precious watchwords, they had graciously remained to bless the inhabitants of the earth.[1]

But the time for reason and reaction must necessarily arrive. The news of the regicide was at length blown over the ocean; confusion had made its master-piece; and the conservative leaders of the town began to be heard from. They believed that a poison had been introduced into the body politic which threatened to paralyze its members. The ideal of human brotherhood, still incandescent before a portion of the community, seemed to those who had hitherto directed its opinion to have become a flimsy sentimentalism. It assailed those degrees and etiquettes of society which give it grace as well as stability. The Federal party which struck its roots so strongly in Boston comprised, with scarcely an exception, the men of wealth, learning, and influence. The example of France seemed to them to show that the rule of the people must end in that of the basest of demagogues. They could not accept, for better or for worse, the tide of democracy which was setting in.[1] It has been said that next to the noblest type of innovator, and scarcely inferior to him in usefulness, comes his high-minded opponent. It is certainly true that, because so much good work was done by the Federalists, the ideal of the American democrat may ultimately be practicable. It concerns me here to repeat — since the fact colors the manners of the time — that, notwithstanding the fine feelings proclaimed at the festival, the ruling opinion of Boston did not cordially accept the freedom and equality of the industrial classes. It is not the printed matter of the day which furnishes the best evidence of this sentiment, though even here indications of its existence are to be found. One example will suffice. The *Centinel*, in its issue for July 25, 1798, published an oration by Master Reed, a pupil of the Latin School. The young gentleman's subject was true and false patriots, and after instancing Washington and several classical personages as examples of the former, he disposes of the latter in such terms as these: "We meet them at every turn; we read their productions in every democratic newspaper. False patriots are the street orators and Coffee-House politicians of every large town; they are the *Ciceros* of the mob. They harangue the gaping Mechanic and the admiring Truckman; . . . they are the vapors of putrefying democracy." Such expressions of course amount to nothing as the utterances of a boy; but they become significant when they pass the watchful scrutiny of the master, and are delivered and printed with his approval. The contemptuous slur upon mechanics and trucknen, whose poorly requited labor made possible the holiday audience which Master Reed addressed, suggests

[1] [See Mr. H. C. Lodge's chapter. — Ed.]

the reason why Jefferson, with all his faults, better expressed the collective will of the nation than did the true and honorable Federalists who laid its foundations.

With the opening of the present century a season of prosperity for Boston had fairly set in. Her industries received an impulse, and the enterprise of her merchants was laying the foundations of fortunes which were as generously used as they were honorably won. French influence was modifying social forms. Jefferson was inaugurated, and the term "French airs" was applied in mockery to the scant skirts and *coiffure à la liberté* with which the ladies were replacing the hooped petticoats and towering head-dresses in which they had welcomed George Washington to the town. Monsieur Alexandre Lavigne arrived from Paris, and was ready to arrange feminine locks "in the Greek, Flora, or Virginia fashions," while he would cut the hair of the gentlemen "*à la* Brutus," or "*à la* Titus," as their tastes might dictate. Breeches and stockings were gradually giving place to pantaloons, fitted close to the leg and passing into the shoes. Boots with yellow tops were worn by men of advanced years, while the younger portion of society affected half-boots made of elastic leather. The toe was pointed or flat, according to the age of the wearer; and "old square-toes" furnished the slang epithet which will always be wanted to deride the conservatism of the decline of life in its objectionable manifestations.

A satirical communication upon "Beaux," which appeared in the *Centinel* for April 23, 1800, despite obvious exaggerations, preserves some curious traits of the fine gentlemen of the period. According to the writer "the Frenchified American beau," as he was to be met in the streets of Boston, wore shaggy hair upon his head and a spotted linen kerchief about his neck, while his green coat ended behind in a mathematical point. It was his habit to drink brandy in the morning, while his conversation, even upon the exchange, ran upon Parisian opera dancers. "The dapper beau" appeared with close-cut hair, the remaining stumps being twisted into curls. "His hat is about the size of Aunt Tabby's snuff-box, and is stuck upon the very crown of his head. In his hand he commonly carries a stick of wood, which seems to weary him very much, especially in summer." The writer had met "the college beau" in the vicinity of the Old State House, and perceived that he exhibited that state of inanition which is not uncommon in young gentlemen who are fed by academic contractors. The cakes and ale, which an expression of Shakespeare has made typical of youthful indulgence, the visitor from Cambridge seems to have craved in the narrow letter. He is represented as devouring the former in the shape of gingerbread, while "he guggles down a glass of ale at the old woman's basket." His costume is not particularized, but his hair is "plastered" and "well whited over with Virginia flour." But democracy has entered upon the scene, and neither triflers of leisure nor students of learning shall claim monopoly in the matter of social fascinations. The account of "the shopkeeper beau," who is characterized as "the politest man alive," is well worth quoting entire: —

"He will spring at one leap over a counter four feet high to pick up a lady customer's handkerchief; he makes the most handsome bow, says the most civil things, and talks surprisingly fast and sensibly about the odor of a roll of pomatum, or the vulgarity of wearing our own hairs. In the day-time he is fully employed in displaying his drawers, boxes, bottles, needles, and pins; but in the evening you may find him dancing a minuet with the lady whom he cheated of a half-penny a few hours before. 'Chaos has come again!' Among his ancestors he numbers many of the noble profession of Vulcan, and his mother was a dealer in yarn; but he has long since forgotten his parentage."

Chaos has come again! So it seemed to the respectable sentiment of the town. That unguarded exclamation measures the distance we have travelled since the author of those generalities of perennial glitter was seated in the presidential chair. Snobbishness, indeed, is likely long to be with us; but, like vice, it has been taught to seek a decorous concealment. It dares not write to the papers because shopkeepers, "fully employed" during the day, and descended from men and women who did the hard work of the world, refresh themselves with a dance in the evening, and assume no position of inferiority in respect to the customers they have served.

As wealth increased, the noted hospitality of the town received a fresh impulse. Gentlemen and ladies from the South, — there was then no West, — who took Boston on their return from the Springs, were welcomed with cordiality. Mr. Craigie, of Cambridge, sometimes entertained over a hundred guests at the brilliant Commencement festival, and a few families who had country seats in the vicinity gave dinners and receptions with great liberality. But visits to the country were by no means essential; for Boston, — a town of gardens with the privilege of the sea, — was in itself a watering-place. The boarding-houses were comfortable places of resort for travellers. Indeed, some of the finest mansions in the place, residences of the provincial magnates, had come to this use. "Boston continues to be thronged with strangers," says a letter bearing date Aug. 20, 1800; "Mrs. Carter rejects twenty or thirty a day, yet still keeps the moderate number of sixty in her family. After the warmth of the day is over, we form animated groups; we had quite a romantic one last evening, sitting on the grass by moonlight, with the accompaniment of a guitar and singing." Fishing parties were constant during the warm season. "The gentlemen, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes in company with ladies," writes a visitor, "spend the day partly on the water and partly on some of the islands in this very delightful harbor. I have been at one of these parties, and assure you we had a high degree of social and friendly conviviality."

Under the influence of French thought and customs came occasional protests against the rigor of the Sunday laws, notwithstanding the fact that the Puritan observance of the sacred day had already suffered curtailment. In the assembly of 1782–83 the country members had been strenuous for a Sabbath of thirty-six hours; but those from the larger towns were mercifully disposed to limit it to eighteen, and the latter carried their point.

From midnight of Saturday till six o'clock the next day [1] it was unlawful for any hired carriage to leave or to enter Boston, while during service no vehicle could move faster than a walk. By a statute enacted ten years later, travelling and all secular employments, save those of necessity and mercy, were prohibited. It is doubtful whether these laws were fully enforced, though there is a story that Governor Hancock was once fined for taking a turn in the mall on his way home from church. In 1802 the selectmen proposed to enforce the edict against Sabbath-breakers upon certain persons who were in the habit of bathing at the foot of the Common, and other places where the sea could be reached. The practice may have been objectionable for secular reasons; but of these nothing is said, and the inference was not unnatural that the law was evoked to deprive those who were confined to labor during the week of a refreshment which persons more favorably situated need not lack. A rhyming protest which appeared in the *Centinel* is characteristic of the undercurrent of thought, as well as of its methods of expression.[2] After sunset the restraints of the sacred day were relaxed; the children might put away their testaments and catechisms, and their elders frequent social tea-tables to discuss the sermons and the news. The ministers were at home to their parishioners, and there were informal receptions at the houses of prominent men. Caucuses and political gatherings were held on Sunday evening, a time which seems to us inappropriate to these purposes. Let us never cease to respect the good Puritan sentiment of which the custom was a relic. Our forefathers held that their duty to the State was only one degree less solemn than their duty to the Church, and that when the house of prayer was not wanted for the worship of God, it could be put to no better use than to hold a town-meeting.

As money flowed into the town, lotteries put forth their attractions as methods for investment. They were duly authorized by the authorities, and held to be an unobjectionable way of increasing the funds of churches, colleges, and academies. If speculation in chances was in itself innocent, it was not thought necessary to prohibit it on account of demoralizing tendencies. And so it came to pass that when capital was to be caught, no means were spared to popularize the lotteries and display their allurements. At a time when pictorial illustrations in the newspapers were almost unheard of, the advertisement of a new lottery was made seductive by such art as could be commanded. A representation of Fortune blindfolded, and balancing herself upon a wheel, caught the eye of the most hasty reader. One hand of the goddess held a cornucopia, from which a stream of coins was pouring into the hat of an improvident young person who was reduced to that single article of clothing; in the other, the fickle lady brandished a

[1] [See Vol. II. pp. 7, 195, 215, 233, 467, 493. — Ed.]

[2] "In Superstition's days, 'tis said,
Hens laid two eggs on *Monday*,
Because a hen would lose her head
That laid an egg on Sunday.

Now our wise rulers and the law
Say none shall wash on Sunday;
So Boston folks must dirty go,
And wash them twice on Monday."

scroll bearing the inscription "$10,000." Sometimes managers would avail themselves of that humorous exaggeration which has become characteristic of American fun; and a note will show that its capabilities, as applied to advertising, is no recent discovery.[1]

"The General Court teems with petitions for new turnpikes and toll-bridges; the spirit of improvement may be said not only to exist, but to rage." Such is the contemporary testimony to the impetus from prospering finances. New inlets were opened to the town, and water-carts were demanded, "notwithstanding the great expense." Boston was surely rich and public-spirited enough to lay the dust in the principal streets. And now was revived the project of opening a canal through Cape Cod, which for a century past had been advocated as a practicable means for promoting the prosperity of the town. "The threefold cord of Humanity, Interest, and Patriotism," writes a promoter of the scheme in the florid rhetoric of the time, "strengthens our obligation to the utmost exertion, and powerfully draws us to employ every means in our power which may facilitate and hasten the accomplishment of so desirable an event." Alas! nothing but the unforeseen is certain to happen. We can picture the contemptuous incredulity of this enthusiast, could he have listened to a prophecy that capital would be forthcoming to bring the Pacific within a week's journey, and to furnish instant communication across the stormy leagues of the Atlantic, ere it would divide the sandy promontory in the interest of the commerce of Boston.

Property was now so generally diffused that the law limiting the suffrage to those holding goods to the amount of $200 was scarcely felt as a grievance. It is worthy of notice that in an appeal to electors in 1802 the *Centinel* recites the statute, not as restrictive, but as making the responsibility for good government well nigh universal. "We ask, What free citizen who has any habits of industry has not this property? Not one perhaps in thirty; for he must be poor indeed, and indolent to a proverb, whose whole effects will not be valued at this sum." No wonder that strangers enjoyed a visit to Boston during those halcyon days. The place was thoroughly prosperous, and its distinctive characteristics and local type of manners were seen at their best. Few were troubled by a vision of the time so soon to come, when public soup-kitchens must be opened, and a crowd of sailors, bearing the flag at half-mast, would visit the governor to demand bread.

Social gossip is always pleasantest when animated by feminine intelligence, and I feel sure that the reader will esteem it a privilege to look at

[1] "A curious machine has lately been advertised which will *churn*, *scrape potatoes*, *rock a cradle*, and *darn stockings!* However curious and useful this may appear, there is another *machine* (old invention) which not only performs *all* these things, but even more, — *it enables us to* OBTAIN *them!* This last machine is in the form of a lottery-wheel; and if any dispute its superiority over the *new* invention, let them purchase a TICKET and try the experiment." — *Columbian Centinel*, April 13, 1802.

some of the gayeties of Boston through the eyes of a gifted lady, from whose letters I am permitted to make the following extracts: —

"Jan. 2, 1807. In the regions of fashion dancing still continues the rage. Private balls are numerous, and little cotillon parties occur every week. The dancing disease having gradually ascended till it reached the middle-aged, now begins to descend on the other side of the hill, and attacks the old. At a late party Mrs. —— and Mrs. —— danced cotillons. . . . The public balls were quite neglected, except the last, which, being the first of January, was crowded and brilliant, — though not, say the fashionables, very genteel. The Theatre begins to be in vogue, because one Mrs. Hanley is the subject of discussion and dispute in every circle, being pronounced by some people of taste the most accomplished actress that ever trod the stage, and by others of equal taste as impudent, affected, and intolerable."

"Feb. 12, 1807. The night before last, as my cold was better, I ventured to Mrs. James Perkins's, who gave a ball to more than two hundred people. The company though large was not mixed, but consisted of all the respectable people in town, with their children, and in some cases grandchildren. It was very pleasant, well conducted, and perfectly satisfactory to all tastes. They had dancing for the young, cards and conversation for the old, and for those who love eating, an excellent collation of solid good things in the side-board style. If it were not too much in Colonel Caustic's vein, I should say that there were very few handsome women there, that the young ladies were some of them too much caricatured in their dress, and that the beaux were not so gallant as those of the old school. But we know that a prospect appears different when seen from different eminences; so the fault may be in my situation, not in the objects I saw."

"Nov. 24, 1809. Notwithstanding the gloom of our political horizon, the spirit of gayety seems to be awake among us. We seem determined to imitate our present allies and future masters by dancing away our cares. Mr. Samuel Welles's ball was splendid and tasteful; it was honored by the presence of the most brilliant collection of beauties that has appeared in public for many years. The ladies were dressed with much taste; the degree of light was adjusted with happy skill to suit their complexions. Transparent paintings, and lamps decorated with flowers whose bright hues were reflected from mirrors, gave lustre to the scene. The supper was highly elegant; the table was covered with the luxuries of every clime and every season. Summer was robbed of its flowers and autumn of its fruits to embellish this winter *fête*. Fine peaches blushing with the glow of September, and a variety of melons, were preserved with great care and expense for this gallant occasion. The Turkish band in their elegant costume shared the honors of the night, and divided with the ladies the tribute of approbation. The grace of Peter in playing the cymbals and of Mrs. —— in dancing cotillons received equal applause. Mr. Welles acquitted himself with great propriety, and all went off with *éclat*, except the toasts, which were rather flat. The gentlemen were not prepared to be either witty or sentimental, and impromptus suit the genius of the French better than that of the English or their American descendants. Mr. Otis alone was happy on this occasion; his wit is ever ready. Some things a little novel distinguished this *fête*, — such as a song in falsetto by Mr. Welles's servant, whether tender or humorous nobody could tell, as it was Italian; but we are to conclude the latter, since it made everybody laugh. Another novelty was our friend S——, acting as manager with a *chapeau bras* under one arm, flirting a lady's fan, picking up her

handkerchief, and presiding at supper. In this new character he, however, acquitted himself well, except for a little mistake which defeated the gallantry of Mr. Welles in one of his arrangements. The tables, which were laid to accommodate three hundred persons, were ornamented with a profusion of flowers. Besides the natural ones, large vases were filled with the most beautiful artificial flowers that could be procured, consisting of bouquets, wreaths, etc. After supper the ladies were requested to select these flowers and wear them. It was intended as a sort of compliment, and to preserve the memory of the evening a little longer. As soon as this request was made, some very pretty girls began to ornament themselves with apple-blossoms, roses, etc., when S——, who thought the natural flowers alone could be meant, called out in his own style, 'Look here now, this will never do!' Finding his exclamation not attended to, he jumped up, 'By George, this is not right!' and replaced the vase on the pyramid. This checked the whole business, and Mr. Welles had the mortification of seeing the flowers which he had selected as ornaments for so many fair damsels left for the servants, and poor S—— got heartily laughed at."

A party given for Miss Buckminster, by Mr. and Mrs. Isaac P. Davis, is described in the same letter: —

"We had our usual circle, with the addition of the Miss Storers and one or two others. Some of the scenes would have amused you; but they would lose their spirit on paper. A sortie of the fair Miss —— soon after the entrance of the Reverend Dr. ——, and a dialogue between him and the same lady, and another with Mr. Buckminster, were quite original. Mr. Davis invited —— (an English gentleman then residing in Boston), for which his wife scolded him, and I seconded her; but he said the gentleman was sick and could not come. However, in the middle of the evening he lounged in. . . . One thing he would do, in spite of all the cold monosyllables with which his observations were received, and that was talk to me. Although I never saw him but once before, and never was introduced to him, he walked across Mrs. D.'s large room, and finding no vacant chair stood up before me, and insisted upon knowing my opinion of a variety of characters and books about which he conversed very fluently, — though, I thought, very superficially. He embellished his observations with passages given in such a manner that, if remembered, they might pass for quotations; if not, they would be considered as bright flashes of his own genius. The most striking thing to me in his conversation was the address with which he practised this art. He appears, however, to have studied human nature with some success; he is, I suspect, more profound in the knowledge of the heart than any other science, and flatters most dexterously. The confident expectation he seemed to have of making me one of his warm admirers provoked me, and I was very glad when he had exhausted the stock of materials which he had evidently got up for the occasion. I had some conversation with Mr. Buckminster and William Tudor, which I enjoyed more highly. Dr. —— also attacked me upon the orthodoxy of my sentiments. I told him that as he did not know my sentiments, it was rather an unfair attack. However, if it was being too orthodox to believe that *faith* as well as good works were necessary, and that we should not rest entirely on them, but on the merits of our Saviour, for eternal happiness, and that the aid of God's Holy Spirit is necessary to enable us to resist temptation, I must plead guilty. I added that it had become the fashion to charge upon all who believed these serious truths the extravagant opinions of Hopkinsians

and Methodists. The good Doctor then made some distinction rather too nice for 'my poor head,' as Sir Hugh says, which not perfectly understanding I could only answer by asking a rather simple though serious question; and this the Doctor not being prepared to answer, he cut short the argument by walking away."

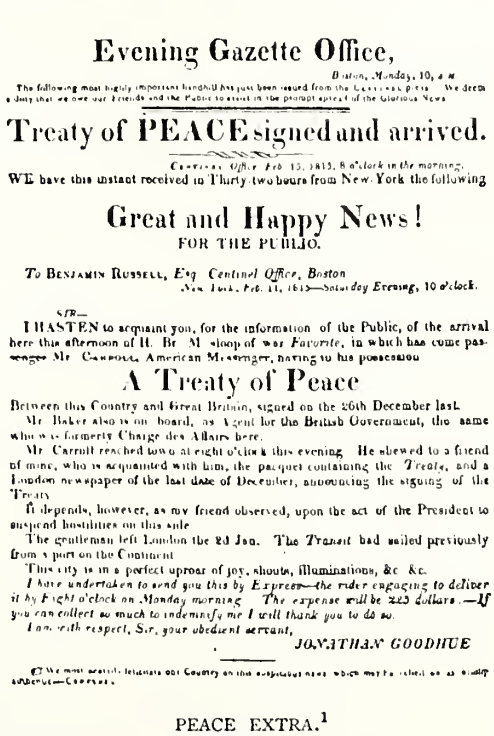
Thus the forms of social life were continued in Boston, while the Embargo filled the town with sullen rage, and the passage of the Enforcing Act caused a pretty general expression of the opinion that the end must come either in despotism or civil war. Of the deplorable consequences of these measures, and of the war with England which succeeded them, it is not my province to speak.[1] But I cannot deny my readers a glance at the happy days which succeeded these events, and this they shall take through the eyes of a young lady in her teens, — from whose diary I am permitted to copy. On the evening of Sunday, Feb. 12, 1815, the writer describes a social meeting which had just taken place at the house of her parents. Noah Webster the lexicographer, Judge Dawes, then of the Municipal Court, and Mr. Wainwright (afterwards Bishop Wainwright) were the callers. When such men met, the distressing topic of the time was not to be avoided. The chances of peace were discussed and rediscussed, till at last it was agreed with sad unanimity that no prospect of an end to the war with England was to be discerned. What happened the next day shall be told in the words of the contemporary record: —

"Monday, February 13, 1815. — After breakfast all the bells began to ring. I asked mamma what it meant, and she said that she supposed it must be a town-meeting. Suddenly —— burst into the room, exclaiming, 'Do you know what the bells are ringing for? Peace! Peace!! Peace!!!' We thought her out of her senses, and papa went out to learn the truth. He soon returned and told us that it was indeed true, and that the whole town was in an uproar about it. We felt that we could not stay at home; so we ordered the sleigh and set forth. First we went through Cornhill, then past the Common, and through the main street down to the North End. The streets were crowded: in State Street you might have walked upon the people's heads. Almost every house had a flag on it, and in some places they were strung across the streets. We then rode again over the town, and met several companies of soldiers. In the main street we met a company followed by three sleds, each drawn by fifteen horses. A man was in the front of each, with the word *Peace* printed in large capitals on his hat. These sleds were full of sailors who, just as they came up, gave a most tremendous huzza, which was echoed by the immense crowd about us. The ladies were running about the streets as if they did not know what they were doing; the gentlemen were shaking hands and wishing each other joy. All this time bells were ringing, cannons firing, and drums beating. I never saw such a scene. The joy of the poorer classes, who had suffered so much, was quite affecting. When my father came home he said that the gentlemen had concluded to defer the public celebration, illumination, etc., until official accounts were received from Washington.

"February 23, 1815. — The Oratorio in celebration of peace was performed yester-

[1] [See the chapters by Gen. Palfrey and Mr. Lodge. — Ed.]

day morning at the Stone Chapel. We obtained seats near the altar, and were joined by Mrs. S. G. Perkins and her two daughters. The church was crowded; and the presence of several British officers in full uniform gave ocular demonstration that peace had come. After the services we went to the balcony of the house of Mrs. Lowell, senior, in Common Street, to see the procession. Representatives of all the trades were drawn on sleds, with appropriate insignia, and carrying their tools. The brick-layers were building a house; they broke their bricks and worked busily. The carpenters were erecting a Temple of Peace. The printers struck off hand-bills announcing 'Peace!' and threw them among the crowd. The bakers, hatters, paper-makers, and others had each their insignia. At six o'clock in the evening we drove in the sleigh over the town to see the illuminations of all the public edifices and of many private houses. The fireworks consisted of rockets thrown from the roof of the State House, which was decorated with transparencies. On each side of the pediment was a pine-tree, and a star in the centre all formed of fireworks; and as the star exploded the word 'Peace' appeared. The celebration passed off without accident, and was highly successful.



Evening Gazette Office,

Boston, Monday, 10, a M.

The following most highly important handbill has just been issued from the Centinel press. We deem a duty that we owe our friends and the Public to assist in the prompt spread of the Glorious News

Treaty of PEACE signed and arrived.

Centinel Office Feb 13, 1815. 8 o'clock in the morning.

WE have this instant received in Thirty-two hours from New-York the following

Great and Happy News!

FOR THE PUBLIC.

To BENJAMIN RUSSELL, Esq Centinel Office, Boston

New York, Feb. 11, 1815—Saturday Evening, 10 o'clock.

SIR—

I HASTEN to acquaint you, for the information of the Public, of the arrival here this afternoon of H. Br. M. sloop of war *Favorite*, in which has come passenger Mr Carroll, American Messenger, having in his possession

A Treaty of Peace

Between this Country and Great Britain, signed on the 26th December last.

Mr Baker also is on board, as Agent for the British Government, the same who was formerly Charge des Affairs here.

Mr Carroll reached town at eight o'clock this evening. He shewed to a friend of mine, who is acquainted with him, the packet containing the *Treaty*, and a London newspaper of the last date of December, announcing the signing of the Treaty.

It depends, however, as my friend observed, upon the act of the President to suspend hostilities on this side.

The gentleman left London the 2d Jan. The *Transit* had sailed previously from a port on the Continent.

This city is in a perfect uproar of joy, shouts, illuminations, &c &c.

I have undertaken to send you this by Express—the rider engaging to deliver it by Eight o'clock on Monday morning. The expense will be 225 dollars.—If you can collect so much to indemnify me I will thank you to do so.

I am, with respect, Sir, your obedient servant,

JONATHAN GOODHUE

☞ We most sincerely felicitate our Country on the acquisition of news which may be relied on as wholly authentic.—Centinel.

PEACE EXTRA.[1]

"February 24. — Last evening we went to Concert Hall to attend the Peace Ball. I had some hesitation about going to a public ball, but the occasion overcame my scruples. My dress was a sheer dotted muslin skirt, trimmed with three rows of plaited white satin ribbon an inch wide. The bodice of white satin was also trimmed with the same ribbon. I wore white lace round the neck, a bouquet, gold ornaments, chain, etc. My hair was arranged in braids, bandeau, and curls. The building was illuminated within and without, and was decorated with flags and flowers; the effect was beautiful. The band, stationed in a balcony above, was playing as we entered. A platform surrounded the floor of the hall, and upon this we secured seats with Mrs. R. Sullivan and Mrs. S. G. Perkins and her daughters; we had much amusement in observing the

[1] [We are obliged to Colonel W. W. Clapp for permission to copy this little broadside, somewhat larger than our fac-simile, which made the announcement of peace. Goodhue was an eminent merchant of New York; and the express had come through in the incredibly short space of thirty-two hours. Josiah Quincy, who was at this time a member of the Massachusetts Senate, moved that morning resolutions of thanksgiving; and was made chairman of the committee for the celebration, which was fixed to be made on Washington's birthday, as described in the diary quoted in the text, and which included a dinner at the Exchange Coffee-House, at which Harrison Gray Otis presided. (Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 360.) The victory of Jackson at New Orleans, gained before news of the treaty reached him, was not known in Boston until a fortnight later, and the Legislature passed their vote of thanks to the victorious general Feb. 28. See Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 228; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii. 420. — ED.]

company. Several British officers in full uniform were actively employed in flirting and dancing, not in the most graceful manner: they seemed favorite partners among the young ladies. The hall being built chiefly for a ball-room, the floor had a springing motion I never saw equalled. I danced several cotillons, contrary to my expectation, as I was acquainted with few of the beaux; and towards the end of the evening Colonel Sumner, one of the managers, requested my hand in a contre-dance. To dance with a manager was a distinction; he could place his partner at the head of any contre-dance he selected. The Colonel, who was a tall man, and had something of flourish in his manner, led me through all the sets just formed to the further end of the hall, where we placed ourselves at the head of a dance, and went down it with great animation. We then left our associates to perform the walking part of the figure at their leisure. This was probably not much to their satisfaction; but the manager must be obeyed. I was escorted back to my party, and after supper returned home, having passed a most amusing evening."

Further on in this diary it is noted that the excitement upon the restoration of peace by no means subsided with the celebration; and that Mr. Channing actually preached a sermon to remind his hearers that, though peace had come, there would remain an amount of evil quite sufficient to encourage the virtues of self-denial and forbearance.

The limits to which I am confined compel the omission of much which is illustrative of the subject, and a few remarks of a general character must conclude the chapter. Social life in the town of Boston, during the last forty years of its existence, was affected by the rapid expansion of thought which characterized the time. New beliefs refused to do courtesy to respectable customs, and those who had a position to maintain must be alert to deal with them as they appeared. "It is our lot to have been born in an age of tremendous revolution," exclaimed the sensitive Buckminster, "and the world is yet covered with the wrecks of its ancient glory, especially of its literary renown." The authoritative barriers of thought had indeed been carried, and sober men had a natural anxiety about what might follow. It was impossible for the wisest to foresee the conservatism and patience which have been characteristic of American democracy. The advent of a national literature was delayed, because every intellectual man seemed to be wanted for some active function in a State where so many alarming elements were to be found. The best work was to be done in directing, if not in opposing, the new forces that were born into the world. But the good literature which our city has contributed to the present century has its roots in the old town. The seed from which it developed was faithfully sown by the pulpit, as well as by contributions to the newspapers from such men as Fisher Ames, Benjamin Austin, John Lowell, and others who were fully their peers. The standard of morals recognized in the town was in some respects different from our own. Justice was more conspicuous than humanity in the treatment of offenders. Executions were not only public, but were accompanied by a ceremonial which was meant to be impressive, but which we should

not hesitate to call cruel and offensive.[1] Four pirates, who were executed in 1818 in the presence of twenty thousand spectators, were the conspicuous objects in a procession which moved through the principal streets of the town and over a route previously advertised, in order that no citizen might lose the gratification of the wretched spectacle. Social penalties, always important aids to good living, were administered under rules somewhat different from those which now obtain. Drunkenness did not connote the vices of character with which it is now associated. Scenes were occasionally witnessed at the tables of good and honorable gentlemen which would now be impossible among those to whom these adjectives could apply. A degree of license was permitted to men in their relations with women of an inferior caste; but the moment the conventional limit was exceeded a wholesome public opinion outlawed the transgressor. "A man may repent, and God may forgive him; but his fellow-sinners never will!" bitterly exclaimed one who had felt the ostracism of his generation for an offence of this nature. The speaker was a man of large wealth, much of which was left for public uses. Offenders to-day, whose financial position is so favorable, need not despair of obtaining condonement. The plainness or coarseness of speech which was permitted among our ancestors had little bearing upon morals. We are not called upon to assume airs of superiority because Judge Parsons thought *Tom Jones* a suitable book to present to a lady, or because the most courtly of Moderators convulsed a town-meeting with a jest of which these types can furnish no adumbration. If either of these excellent gentlemen could visit their descendants, they would be startled at our tolerance of customs which would seem to them in the highest degree objectionable.

The gradual extinction of that conception of the clergy which separated them as a caste pledged to austerities which their parishioners were not expected to imitate, has in many ways raised the standards of right living. Christian gentlemen, who saw no harm in taking their families to witness the performance of Shakespeare's plays, would have been greatly shocked had their ministers assumed the same privilege. But this arbitrary separation in matters innocent or indifferent was too easily enlarged to excuse laxities which touched the foundation of morals. Few self-respecting men at present feel that such relaxations as they may temperately enjoy are to be condemned in their ministers; and the converse of the proposition, which requires from laymen the purity of life and devotion to high ends which characterize the clergy, must tend to become equally evident. It is only upon a superficial view that we can regard the beneficent influence of the sacred profession upon social life in the old town as greater than it is at present. No doubt it was different, and more easily to be measured; no doubt that as authoritative expounders of theology the influence of the clergy has been steadily upon the wane: but if the conspicuous leadership

[1] [The records of the Navy Yard, for instance, show that it was customary on such occasions to suspend work. — Ed.]

of our religious teachers has been lessened, their service in the ranks has become more important. The growth of the community and the complexities of modern life have brought with them temptations of which our ancestors knew little; but we should be much worse off than we are if there had been any real decline in the moralizing influence of our ministers in secular affairs. And because this influence is now subtile and unseen, and brings no special honor with its exercise, it should be acknowledged by those who know its value in strengthening the moral fibre of the community.

A devotion to the higher interests of its inhabitants characterized the later years of the town of Boston. It was rich in individuals who looked beyond the pursuits whose end was self-aggrandizement, and sought to discover the pressing wants of their fellow-citizens, that they might labor to supply them. Our honorable institutions of religion, charity, and learning bear testimony to their zeal. We owe to them an inheritance which requires us merely to maintain, not to create, a reputation for public spirit and private munificence. They held a high conception of the duties of citizenship, and, according to their light, were prompt to fulfil them. The bitterness of their political animosities testifies to the honesty and positiveness of their convictions. The intelligent Democrat of to-day must reverence the noble twelve years' work of the Federal party, and honor its vigorous and useful protests during the earlier part of this century. First, an honest opposition; then, a passive acquiescence; finally, a joyous sympathy,—this is the necessary sequence by which what is best in the old modifies and renders possible the ideal of the new. The Boston of a healthy Democracy, which our descendants may one day perfect upon the cherished site, will be deeply indebted to the good old Federal town that preceded it.

Josiah Phillips Quincy.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY AND LANDMARKS OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY EDWARD STANWOOD.

AT the close of the Revolutionary period, Boston was topographically what it had been from the beginning.[1] Its three hills were as Nature had made and left them. None of the numerous coves and inlets that once indented the shores of the peninsula had been obliterated. The last century has been the witness of all the great physical changes which have wrought upon Boston such a transformation as no other great city of the world has ever undergone at the hands of man. Not a trace of the original coast-line remains. The levelling tendency of the age has been a literal fact, so far as Boston is concerned, for its hills have been cut down and its low land raised. The area of dry land has been much more than doubled, and Boston proper is no longer, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, a peninsula.

In studying the physical history of Boston, we have first of all to consider what Boston was when the changes began. The inhabited part of it was a true peninsula, almost exactly a square mile in area, connected with the main-land by a neck which was at one point extremely narrow, and widening as it approached the Roxbury line. The superficial area of the Neck, and the land which lay south of it, was not far from one fourth of a square mile. The whole original area of Boston proper is put at 783 acres. The latest survey makes the area of dry land in original Boston 1,829 acres.

Boston has grown in area not only by reclaiming land from the sea, but by absorbing neighboring territory, — first, by the annexation of parts of the domain of adjoining municipalities; and latterly, by taking the whole, — extinguishing the separate municipal existence of the cities and towns absorbed. In this way South Boston (or Dorchester Neck as it was then called), Washington Village, Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, Brighton,

[1] [Compare the original peninsula, as indicated on the map at the beginning of Vol. I., with Page's map of 1775, as given in Vol. III., and Carleton's map of 1797, given herewith. See accounts of these in the Introduction to Vol. III. In 1789 the number of buildings in Boston is put down at 2,639; and in 1791 the dwellings alone numbered 2,376, with 18,038 inhabitants. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 249; and second series, ix. 204. — ED.]

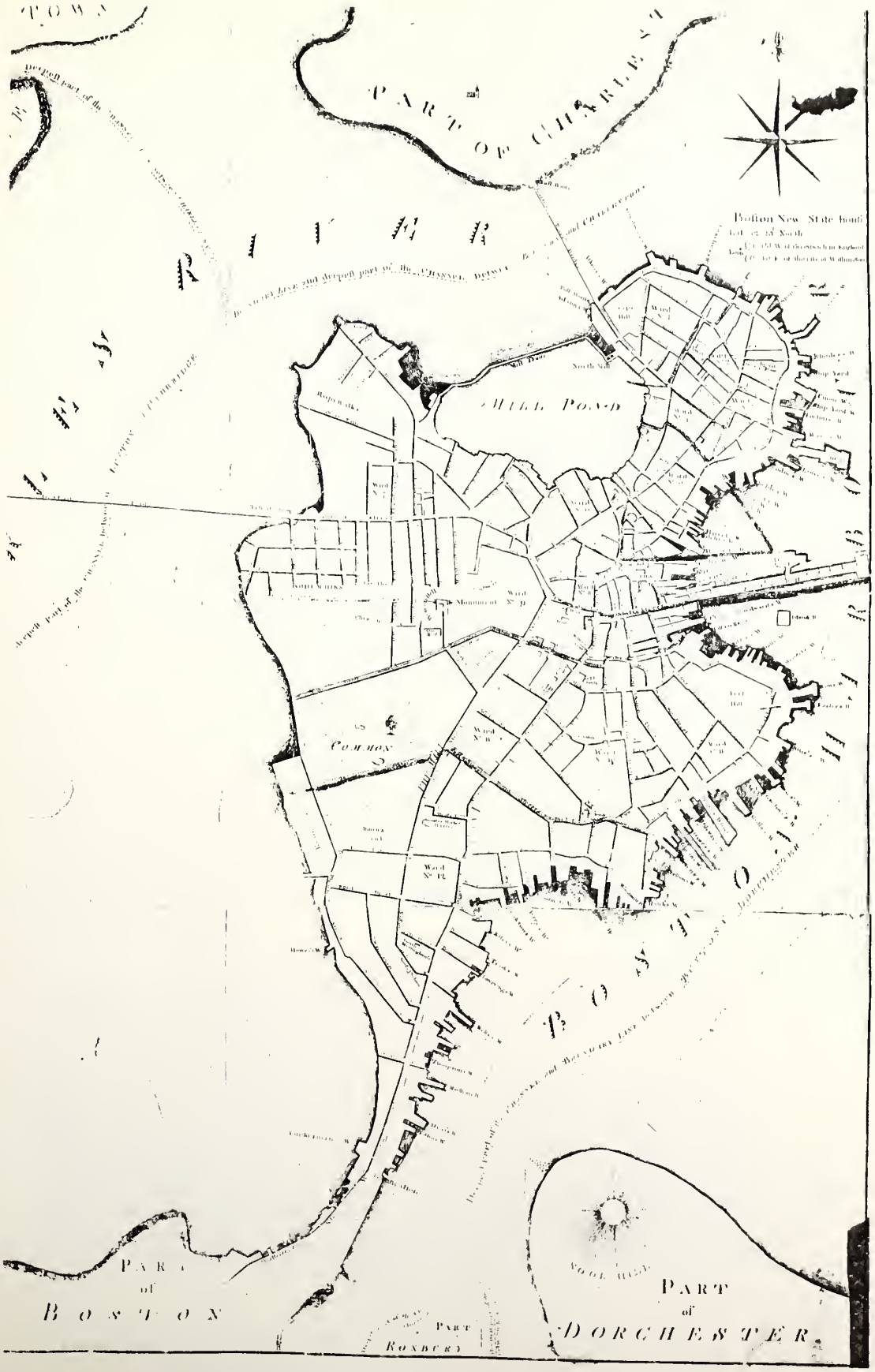
and West Roxbury have united their fortunes with their metropolitan neighbor; so that at present the area over which the city government has jurisdiction is nearly 23,700 acres, or thirty-seven square miles.

The first extensive improvement undertaken during the period now under consideration was the building of a bridge to Charlestown. Boston could be reached by the inhabitants of towns lying to the north and west only by circuitous land routes. As early as 1720 there was some discussion of the subject of connecting Boston and Charlestown by a bridge, but more than sixty years elapsed before the idea of this enterprise was revived. In March, 1785, a company was chartered to build the Charles River Bridge, John Hancock heading the list of incorporators. The company was empowered to collect tolls (which were to be doubled on the Lord's Day) for a term of forty years, on condition of paying two hundred pounds annually to Harvard College, to compensate that institution for the loss of the ferriage between Boston and Charlestown. Subsequently the right to take tolls was extended for thirty years, on account of the charter granted for the building of the West Boston Bridge; but the double Sunday toll was abolished. The capital of the company was fifteen thousand pounds, in shares of one hundred pounds each. The work was begun and prosecuted with great energy, and the bridge[1] was opened to public travel on June 17, 1786, with as imposing a parade and ceremony as were possible in those days. A national salute of thirteen guns was fired at dawn from Breed's Hill, and answered from Copp's Hill, while the bells of both towns rang merry chimes. A procession, consisting of the corporation-officers of the town of Boston and most of the State officials and members of the Legislature, escorted by military, was formed at the Old State House, and marched to and upon the bridge amid the firing of cannon. The draw had been raised; but at a signal given by the president of the company it was lowered, and the procession passed over, to the music of the shouts and applause of twenty thousand spectators. The line of march was through the Square to Breed's (popularly Bunker) Hill, where a dinner "fit for the gods," as one chronicler declares, was served to about eight hundred people; and the occasion of "festivity and sobriety" was protracted until six o'clock in the evening. The enterprise was financially successful, and continued to be so until the Warren free bridge was built in 1828. Soon after that time the draw of Charles River Bridge was permanently raised, and the use of the highway was discontinued. In 1840 the State bought the franchise and property for $30,000, and re-established tolls for the purpose of keeping the two Charlestown bridges in repair. They both afterward passed into the hands of the municipalities of Boston and Charlestown jointly, and are now free highways maintained by Boston alone.

The West Boston, or Cambridge, Bridge[2] was next built, by a company chartered in 1792, and was opened to travel Nov. 23, 1793. It cost £23,000,

[1] [A contemporary view of the bridge is given in Mr. Edes's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [A view of this bridge, taken not long after its completion, is in a manuscript note-book by


PART OF CHARLESTOWN
Boston New State house
Mill Pond
North Mill
Mill Dam
Common
Monument
Ward No 1
Ward No 2
Ward No 3
Ward No 4
Ward No 5
Ward No 6
Ward No 7
Ward No 8
Ward No 9
Ward No 10
Ward No 11
Ward No 12
Ward No 13
Ward No

and was an unfortunate speculation for its projectors. The Canal Bridge, now known as Craigie's, was built by a company incorporated in 1807, and opened to travel on Commencement Day, Aug. 30, 1809. Both of these bridges were sold in 1846 to the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation. At the end of January, 1858, tolls were abolished on both, and the occasion was duly celebrated by the city authorities and people of Cambridge.

Beacon Hill is still the most conspicuous landmark of Boston, although the last hundred years have witnessed a complete change in its form and aspect. What Beacon (or Sentry) Hill was originally, the readers of the first volume of this work already know, — a steep, rugged eminence, having three summits, the highest of which was surmounted by a beacon, which gave its name to the hill. It is to-day, although still the highest ground in old Boston, merely a gentle elevation, crowned upon its single summit by the State House, and thickly covered with private dwellings and boarding-houses. In the interval it has been shorn of nearly half its height and all its picturesqueness; but no district of Boston has a more interesting history, and by no means the least attractive part of this history is that of the period since the Revolution.

A century ago the beacon still stood upon the top of the hill. A part of the land forming its sides was owned by private citizens, and the rest was, or was supposed to be, the property of the town. At all events it was used as common pasture-ground. The beacon was blown down by a gale in November, 1789.[1] The idea had already occurred to Mr. Charles Bulfinch, then but lately returned from Europe, where he had been prosecuting his studies in architecture, to remove the unsightly beacon, and to erect a handsome monument in its place. Accordingly, by means of subscriptions procured by himself it is supposed, he caused to be erected a pretentious structure, which was completed in 1790. It was a Doric column, resting on an appropriate pedestal, and surmounted by an eagle, the emblem of the new nation. It was built of brick and stone, encrusted with cement. The eagle was of wood, gilt. The entire height of the structure, from base to summit, was fifty-seven feet. On each side of the pedestal was a tablet, bearing an inscription.[2]

Robert Gilmor of Baltimore, preserved in the Public Library. It is taken from the Cambridge end, and shows the newly erected State House on Beacon Hill. See Isaac Livermore's *Account of some of the Bridges over Charles River*, 1858. This Gilmor note-book contains other views of interest, namely, — of Boston, from Dorchester Heights; Beacon Hill Monument; the State House; the Mall, from the State House; Roxbury, from the Mall; Charlestown, from the west end of Cambridge Bridge. — Ed.]

[1] [It would appear that from about 1760 to 1768, views of the town lacked the accustomed beacon on its highest eminence. In the latter year it was re-erected, and remained till 1775, when Gage removed it in making a fort. After repossessing the town, the authorities replaced the beacon on the hill, fixing it in the centre of the British fort. Here it remained till blown down. — Ed.]

[2] Those upon the north and west sides consisted of a catalogue of the events which led to the Revolution and of the war, while upon the south and east sides were carved the following felicitous sentences, the authorship of which has been attributed to Mr. Bulfinch himself. There is reason to believe, however, that Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap had a hand in fashioning them. He says he was consulted on the subject. See *Belknap Papers*, ii. 233. The honor

This monument, upon the completion of which no public celebration took place, although the event was briefly referred to in the newspapers, was not destined to stand long. The hill was already doomed. Excavations had been made some years before at the northern base of the hill by an avaricious proprietor.[1] In 1795 the work of building the State House was begun, and the preparation of the foundation rendered it necessary to make another unsightly[2] excavation in the hill-side. From that time on, events tended to the destruction of the hill. In 1804 the Mill-pond Corporation obtained from the town the right to remove gravel from it to be used in filling the pond. A few years later the protracted litigation between the town and the Hancock estate terminated in favor of the latter; and about the same time it was decided by the Supreme Court that an owner of land upon a hill-side had a right to excavate upon his own property without being liable for damages in the consequent destruction of any building erected by the owner of adjoining land. In 1811 the town, being in debt, voted to sell the land it owned at the top of the hill, which was fast becoming inaccessible by the removal of gravel from the sides. The sale was accordingly made for $9,300 to Samuel Spear and John Hancock,[3] and the

is also claimed both for Judge Dawes and Governor Bowdoin: —

(South side.)

TO ' COMMEMORATE
THAT ' TRAIN ' OF ' EVENTS
WHICH ' LED
TO ' THE ' AMERICAN ' REVOLUTION
AND ' FINALLY ' SECURED
LIBERTY ' AND ' INDEPENDENCE
TO ' THE ' UNITED ' STATES
THIS ' COLUMN ' IS ' ERECTED
BY ' THE ' VOLUNTARY ' CONTRIBUTIONS
OF ' THE ' CITIZENS
OF ' BOSTON
MDCCXC.

(East side.)

' AMERICANS '
WHEN ' FROM ' THIS ' EMINENCE
SCENES ' OF ' LUXURIANT ' FERTILITY
OF ' FLOURISHING ' COMMERCE
& ' THE ' ABODES ' OF ' SOCIAL ' HAPPINESS
MEET ' YOUR ' VIEW
FORGET ' NOT ' THOSE
WHO ' BY ' THEIR ' EXERTIONS
HAVE ' SECURED ' TO ' YOU
THESE ' BLESSINGS.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 520. — Ed.]

[2] The appearance of the hill at about this time is described by "T. B." in a letter to the *Transcript*, Sept. 24, 1855, drawn out by one of the "Gleaner" papers: "At my earliest recollection the appearance of the hill was this, — a grassy hemisphere, so steep that one could with difficulty mount its sides, descending with a perfectly regular curve to the streets on the south, west, and north. On the east it had been encroached upon, and the contour was broken. Just opposite the end of Coolidge Avenue, on Derne Street, there was a flight of wooden steps, ten or fifteen in number, leading part way up the hill. After that, one had to climb the rest of the way by aid of the footholds that had been worn in the surface, along a wide path worn bare by the feet to the top, where there was also a space of some fifty feet square, worn bare of sod. In the midst of this space stood the monument. Descending by the south side, one followed a similar rough gravel path to another flight of plank steps, leading down to the level of Mount Vernon Street, and terminating at about the position of No. 13 Mount Vernon Street, the first house of those facing south. The sport of batting the ball up the hill, and meeting it again on its descent, was played by some; but it was not so easy a game as one would at first suppose, on account of the difficulty of maintaining one's footing on the hill-side, which was so steep as to require some skill even to stand erect on it."

[3] The divisions subsequently made of the Spear and Hancock estates are among the most remarkable real estate transactions on record. Mr. Bowditch narrates in one of his "Gleaner" papers that a brother conveyancer made it a rule, from which he would depart on no consideration, never to examine a title that came through anybody named Spear. In fact, all the Hancock titles were more or less cloudy; but the heirs were willing to take what they could get. In 1819 a partition of Beacon Street lands was made between the seven children of Mr. Spear

monument was taken down. The eagle was placed over the Speaker's chair in the Representatives' Hall, and the tablets were inserted in the easterly wall of Doric Hall, where they still remain. The excavation then proceeded with fresh vigor, but progress was slow as compared with that of similar enterprises at the present day; and it was only in 1824 that the hill was levelled to about its present height, and the streets laid out substantially as they now are.

Each of the other hills, or summits, was afterward the basis of a large and successful speculation in real estate. Pemberton (or, as it was formerly known, Cotton) Hill became, by purchases from three owners between 1801 and 1824, the property of Mr. Gardiner Greene, the wealthiest citizen of his time, whose estate was one of the glories of Boston in the early years of the present century. Mr. Greene having died in 1832, his estate was sold a year or two later to Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, who purchased also several other estates lying on Beacon Street and Tremont Street (then known as Tremont Row from Howard to Beacon streets), and caused the whole to be graded and laid out. The material removed followed that from Beacon Hill proper, into the mill-pond.

The owner of the estate which included the western of the three summits during the Revolutionary period was John Singleton Copley, the distinguished artist. His land was little if any short of eighteen acres in extent. It was bounded by Beacon Street on the south, and by the water, which then came up to Charles Street, on the west. In 1795 it was sold to Jonathan Mason and H. G. Otis by Copley's son, afterward Lord Lyndhurst, who came over from England with a power-of-attorney from his father for the purpose. Subsequent purchases by Messrs. Mason, Otis, and their associates in the speculation, made the "Mount Vernon Proprietors" the owners of all the land inclosed within a line starting near the corner of Beacon and Charles streets, and following the line of Beacon, Walnut, Mount Vernon, Joy (at first called Belknap), and Pinckney streets, as now laid out, to the water, including the flats west of the estate. Extensive improvements were undertaken. The hill was cut down, and the material used in converting the flats into upland. Charles Street was laid out, on made land, in 1803. The speculation was a highly profitable one to those who were engaged in it.

The first acquisition of territory beyond the original limits of the town was South Boston, known at the beginning of the present century as Dorchester Neck. Although separated from Boston by a channel only a few hundred yards wide, there was no communication between the two peninsulas except by means of occasional row-boats, which could ply only at high tide; but as there were only ten families then residing on the Neck,[1]

by one of his wives, and the share of each was one two hundred and fifty-second part of the estate, and to each was conveyed a strip fronting eighteen inches on Beacon Street, and eighty feet deep.

[1] Simonds's *History of South Boston*, p. 80.

these were all-sufficient for the purpose. The total valuation of estates was but $139,200, all real. The town of Dorchester was extremely reluctant to give up this part of its territory, but it must be admitted that the value of it was not suspected until the proposition to take it away was made.

The annexation had its origin in a real estate speculation. Mr. Joseph Woodward had removed from Tewksbury, bought a large tract of land on Dorchester Neck and settled there, believing that Boston was destined to become a great commercial city, that it had not room for growth, and that this was the easiest and most natural acquisition. He persuaded some of the leading citizens of Boston — William Tudor, Gardiner Greene, Jonathan Mason, Harrison Gray Otis, and others — to adopt his views, and to imitate his example so far as to purchase lands upon the Neck. When once the scheme had been originated, it was carried through to execution with great promptness and energy. The transfer to Mr. Tudor was made toward the end of the year 1803, and the act of annexation was signed on March 6, 1804. The legislation was, however, not procured without determined resistance from the despoiled town of Dorchester. Numerous meetings were held, and the selectmen were instructed to use all their efforts to prevent the annexation. At one stage of the proceedings the town was offered the vast sum of $6,000 on condition that it would not further oppose the bill, and but for the opposition of an influential citizen the proposition would probably have been accepted. Subsequently the offer was increased to $20,000, but this too was rejected; and finally the bill was passed by the General Court, — the town losing its land without receiving any compensation whatever.[1]

Immediately upon the passage of the act land rose enormously in value. On the same day that the annexation was decreed by the General Court an act was signed authorizing the construction of a bridge to South Boston, as it at once began to be called. The corporators of the bridge company were William Tudor, Gardiner Greene, Jonathan Mason, and Harrison Gray Otis; of whom the two latter were the leading members of the association just mentioned under the name of the Mount Vernon Proprietors. The bridge was completed in the summer of 1805, and opened with a grand military display on October 1 of that year. Although it was located at the point where the distance between the two peninsulas was least, it was one thousand five hundred and fifty-one feet in length,[2] and cost $56,000. There had been a contention as to the location of the bridge from the first, and the line was unfortunately chosen. Population was not attracted to the newly annexed territory, which could be reached only by a bridge connecting with Boston at the Neck. An agitation was begun at once in favor of a second bridge. This was resisted, of course, by the proprietors of the first bridge, and a wrangle ensued that only came to an end twenty years later. A charter for a free bridge was granted in 1826; the new (Federal Street) bridge was

[1] [See Mr. Barrows's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] Shaw says one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight feet.

built and opened in 1828, and in the same year it was conveyed to the city. Its construction rendered entirely unproductive the property of the South Boston Bridge Corporation, which had never paid a return to its stockholders, and in 1832 the old bridge was sold to the city for $3,500, and opened free to travel.

The early growth of South Boston did not by any means meet the expectations of the projectors of the annexation. In 1810 the census showed but three hundred and fifty-four inhabitants on Dorchester Neck. In 1825 they only numbered one thousand nine hundred and eighty-six. At this time, however, the city began locating reformatory institutions upon it, and this, with the construction of the second bridge, gave South Boston a new impulse. In 1830 the population had increased to two thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and since then its growth has been rapid and steady.[1]

The first systematic and co-operative enterprise having in view the enlargement of the limits of Boston by making new land, was the Front Street[2] improvement. An act chartering the Front Street Corporation was passed in 1804, as one of two companion acts to that annexing Dorchester Neck (South Boston) to Boston. The corporation was mainly or wholly composed of persons owning estates bordering on the water east of Washington Street and south of Beach Street. The improvement consisted of the construction of a street generally parallel with Washington Street; and the owners of the flats enclosed thereby were left to fill in the intervening space, each on his own land. The street was begun in May, 1804, and completed in October, 1805. It was accepted in March, 1809. The cost of the improvement was about $65,000, which was paid by the persons whose estates were enclosed. About nine acres of land available for building purposes were thus added to the area of the town.[3]

[1] South Boston has not always been contented under the municipal government of Boston, and one manifestation of discontent deserves mention in this place as a part of the history of annexation, or as a sequel to it. In 1847 a memorial (signed by Cranston Howe, S. G. Howe, Larra Crane, D. Nickerson, H. Montgomery, Samuel S. Perkins, C. J. F. Allen, Isaac Adams, Seth Adams, and Joseph Smith) was presented to the mayor and city council, demanding that "there should be a change either in its municipal relation with the city of Boston proper, or in the policy which has hitherto characterized that relation." The memorial was couched in very vigorous language. It set forth the area, population, valuation, the number of public and private buildings and their importance, and the fact that South Boston had "not only the capacity, but the actual material necessary for a separate and independent municipal existence." It asserted that the union with Boston was purely artificial, and that there could be no good reason for its continuance except reciprocity of advantages. South Boston, they complained, derived no advantage from the union, but had been treated merely as an appendage from which profit might be derived by the central government, — "a Botany Bay," for the location of almshouses, prisons, and small-pox hospitals. The memorialists proceeded to recite their grievances at length, and to urge that a larger sum than had been appropriated by the city should be devoted to improving and lighting the streets, and to other objects for which no doubt expenditures were urgently needed. Whether this memorial, or the growing political power of South Boston itself, effected a change need not here be investigated; but certainly in recent years that division of the city has had no just reason to complain that its interests were neglected.

[2] Now Harrison Avenue. The name was changed soon after the death of President Harrison.

[3] The agreement of owners to build no structure less than ten feet from the line of the street was probably the first instance of a restriction

One of the most striking features of old Boston was the mill-pond at the north end of the town. Like so many other landmarks of the original peninsula it has disappeared completely. The proprietors of the mills and adjoining lands obtained an act of incorporation from the General Court in March, 1804, as the Boston Mill Corporation; and proceeded at once to belie their name by obtaining from the town the right to cut down Beacon Hill, and to use the material in filling up the pond, agreeing to give for this privilege one eighth of all the land filled in twenty years. The process was a slow one, and twenty-five years elapsed before it was finished. Blackstone Street, which follows the line of the mill-creek, through which at one time boats and small vessels could pass from the harbor to Charles River, was not laid out until 1833. All the stations of the railroads leading out of the city in a northerly direction — the Fitchburg, Lowell, Eastern, and Maine railroads — stand upon land filled by the Mill Corporation. It should be added that Copp's Hill was also drawn upon and mutilated for the purpose of this improvement, in 1806 and subsequent years; and Pemberton Hill was also transferred to the mill-pond. The area filled was about seventy acres, of which fifty acres were available for building purposes.[1]

The event which more than any other determined the future of Boston, and which ultimately led to a complete change in its physical conformation, was the act of the General Court, in 1814, granting a charter to the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation. The projector of this, as it was justly described at the time, "gigantic enterprise" was Mr. Uriah Cotting, who deserves the title given to him by Mr. Bowditch in the "Gleaner" papers, of Chief Benefactor of Boston. At this day we can look back upon the building of the Mill-Dam and see that the train of consequences which have followed its construction have alone made it possible for Boston to become a great city. The importance of the subject is a sufficient excuse for treating it at length, and — disregarding for the time all other improvements — for bringing the history of the Mill-Dam and the Back Bay down to the present time.

When the charter was granted, there was but an expanse of water and salt marsh from the foot of the Common to the uplands in Brookline. The only communication between the two towns was by way of Roxbury and the Neck. There was ample room in Boston for all the population then residing here, and nothing seemed to be more unlikely than that there would ever come a time when all the land which could be reclaimed from the Charles River basin would be eagerly sought after for building purposes. Nothing was further from Mr. Cotting's plans than to bring about such a result. The improvement which led to the changes we see to-day was undertaken solely from commercial motives. The Mill Corporation was authorized to build a dam from the end of Beacon Street, at Charles Street, to Sewall's

upon real estate in Boston which had in view the symmetry and appearance of a street when fully built upon. Later restrictions have concerned the size and materials of buildings.

[1] [The condition of this territory, as filled in but not built upon, is shown in a view from the dome of the State House, in 1826, in Snow's *Boston*, p. 316. — Ed.]

Point in Brookline; and a cross-dam from Gravelly Point in Roxbury to the main dam. It was empowered to make a roadway of each dam, and to levy tolls for the use of it; also to build a road from the western end of the main dam to the Punch-bowl Tavern in Brookline. It had authority to confine tide water within the area bounded by the Mill-Dam and the uplands, and to build mills to be run by the water-power so created, or to lease the water-power.[1]

The original proposition of Mr. Cotting and his associates was to construct such a dam for the use of tide-water on the other side of the town, and to overflow the South Boston Flats. The Back Bay project was, like many a subsequent scheme, sprung upon the Legislature in the last days of the session, and the bill was passed by the House of Representatives when there were less than fifty, out of more than five hundred, members present.[2] But in spite of opposition the charter was granted, the bill having been signed by Governor Strong on the last day of the session. The enterprise was a stupendous one for those days.[3] The work of construction was begun under the direction of Mr. Cotting, but he did not live[4] to see it completed, and Colonel Loammi Baldwin succeeded him as engineer. The Mill-Dam was finished in the early summer of 1821, and opened for travel[5] on

[1] [The annexed plan has been reproduced from a copy belonging to Dr. John C. Warren of Boston (there is another in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library), measuring 14¼ × 18¾ inches, and four colors were used in printing it, — blue for water, now appearing like a tea-green; yellow for marsh, now a light brown; red for the roads; and black for the lettering, etc. The scale is "eighty rods, or one quarter of a mile, to an inch." It is called "PLAN OF THOSE PARTS OF BOSTON AND ITS VICINITY with its Waters and Flats adjacent, which are immediately or remotely connected with the contemplated design of PERPETUAL TIDE-MILLS. This Vast Design, in the Wide Range of its Utility, will undoubtedly exceed any Undertaking hitherto accomplished in this Quarter of the World. Printed and coloured Typographically by BENJAMIN DEARBORN, in his new-constructed LETTER-PRESS THIS PLAN is probably the FIRST EVER PRINTED in a similar manner, as the Common Printing Press cannot be thus applied. Gentlemen desirous of having works printed in Colours, either Plans or other Drawings, can be accommodated at the Balance-Factory, where appropriate Design and Engravings can be handsomely executed. Boston, February, 1814." The line of the Jamaica Plain aqueduct is traced on it. In the heliotype the yellow is the darkest tint, the blue is the medium tint, representing the water. See also Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 345. — ED.]

[2] A protest was addressed to the citizens through the convenient medium of the newspapers. A communication in the *Daily Advertiser* of June 10, 1814, signed "Beacon Street," begins as follows: "Citizens of Boston! Have you ever visited the Mall; have you ever inhaled the Western breeze, fragrant with perfume, refreshing every sense and invigorating every nerve? What think you of converting the beautiful sheet of water which skirts the Common into an empty mud-basin, reeking with filth, abhorrent to the smell, and disgusting to the eye? By every god of sea, lake, or fountain, it is incredible." Although it was many years before the prophecy was verified, it was at last true enough; and it was because the Back Bay became such a nuisance as to be no longer endurable, that the improvement was rendered possible.

[3] It is related that on the day the books for subscription to the stock were opened, the street was blocked by the throng of persons eager to make an investment, so strong was their faith in Mr. Cotting's project. One determined person is said to have gained access to the room, where the signatures were received, by way of the window, and thereby to have incurred the ill-will of those whom he had outwitted. Yet the corporation did not pay a dividend for forty years.

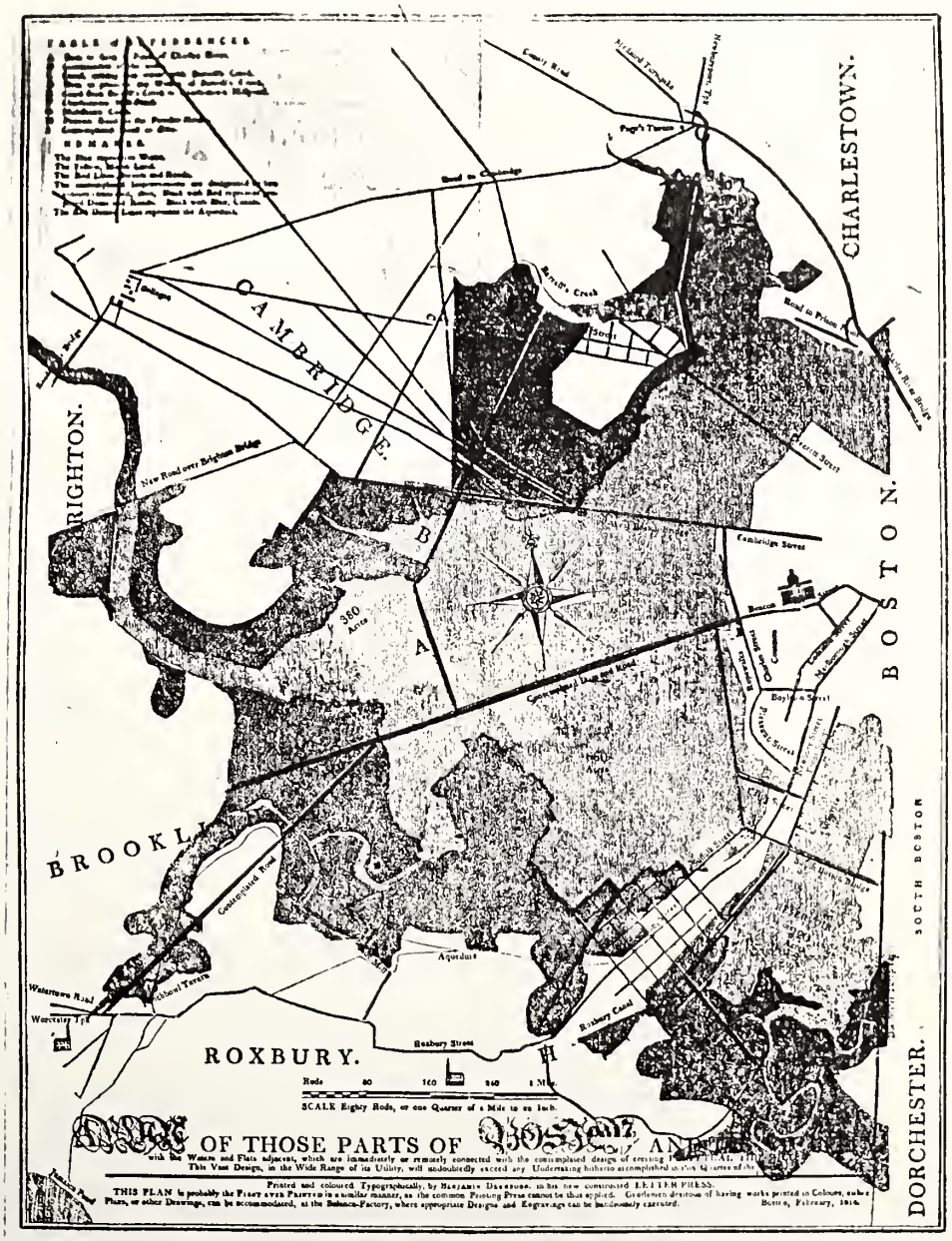
[4] He died in 1819 of rapid consumption.

[5] "The road over the Boston and Roxbury Mill-Dam was opened for passengers for the first time yesterday morning, when a cavalcade of one hundred citizens and upwards, headed by General Sumner and Major Dean, passed over. . . . General Sumner in a pertinent address took occasion to advert to the magnitude of the un-

July 2, of that year, without great ceremony. Mills were erected in process of time to use the water-power which had been created. In 1824 the mixed character of the business of the corporation led to a division of it. The Boston Water-Power Company was chartered for the purpose of purchasing and holding any part of the water-power owned by the Mill Corporation, or any land contiguous thereto. The new company was organized by the stockholders of the old, and at the beginning each shareholder had an equal proportional interest in each. The actual transfer of property to the Water-Power Company did not take place until 1832, when that corporation took possession of the city mills, of the entire water-power, and of all lands lying south of the main dam. The Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation retained the roads and all property north of the dam. Meantime a controversy had arisen between the Mill Corporation, the city of Boston, and other owners of uplands bordering on the basin, involving the extent of the right of flowage by the company, and the right of owners of marshes covered by the tide at high water to fill in their land and thus exclude the flowage. It was terminated by a compromise in 1826. A boundary line was established, — the Mill Corporation relinquishing the right of flowage above it, and the land-owners giving to the company all the lands below the line as far as their rights extended. Some owners declining to accept the compromise, a suit at law was brought, and the rights of the Mill Corporation were fully established by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1832. The compromise with the city, as will presently be seen, placed Boston at a disadvantage in pressing its claim to a share of the Back Bay lands when the grand scheme of filling them was about to be undertaken.

The Boston & Providence, and the Boston & Worcester Railroad companies were both incorporated in 1831. The line of each road was laid out across the water basins of the Water-Power Company. It was foreseen that the construction of these roads would largely diminish the area to be flowed for mill purposes, and there was a depreciation of one half in the stock of both the Mill Corporation and the Water-Power Company in consequence. These corporations endeavored to prevent encroachment. Having received a legislative grant of privileges for public purposes, they refused to admit that those privileges could be taken away even for other public purposes; but in 1839 the contending parties came to an agreement which secured to the railroad companies all they desired. The concession to owners of the right to fill their lowlands, and the crossing of the territory by the railway lines were of the nature of direct injuries to the interests of the Water-Power Company for the purposes indicated by its title, and served to transform i

dertaking the completion of which they were met to celebrate. . . . He reverted to the position of Boston thirty-four years ago when there was only one passage from the peninsula to the main. 'It was then,' he said, 'our town resembled a hand, but it was a closed one. It is now open and well spread. Charlestown, Cambridge, South Boston, and Craigie's Bridges have added each a finger, and lately our enterprising citizens have joined the firm and substantial *thumb* over which we now ride.'" — *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1821.



The Back Bay and Milldam.

into a land company, and to render inevitable, on sanitary grounds, the filling-in of the whole space.

In 1849 there was an elaborate report to the city council on the question of drainage, the mayor and aldermen, as a Board of Health, having declared the condition of the Back Bay "to be one of nuisance, offensive and injurious to the large and increasing population residing upon it." The abominably filthy state in which it was, — an open cesspool, receiving the sewage of a large community, — together with the claims made to the land and to jurisdiction over it by the cities of Boston and Roxbury, by owners of the shores, and by the Water-Power Company, attracted the attention of the State authorities. A commission was appointed, consisting of Simon Greenleaf, Joel Giles, and Ezra Lincoln, by whom the whole subject in all its bearings was thoroughly considered. In their final report, made in 1852, after an able review of the whole history of the Back Bay and of the vested rights established, and after showing the amount of filling already done, the uncontested conveyance of lands by the corporations both north and south of the Mill-Dam, and the building which had already taken place upon these lands, the commissioners suggested that the following principles should be sanctioned by the Legislature: —

1. The corporations should be permitted to hold and use their property for land purposes, and abandon their business as mill and water-power owners. 2. All filling within the tide-water basin should be done with clean gravel. 3. Provision should be made for perfect drainage. 4. The streets to be laid out on the made-land should be wide and ample. 5. The Mill-Dam, or Western Avenue, and all other roads within the territory, should eventually be made free highways. 6. The filling should be done in such a manner that the scouring force of the water should not be diminished, and the harbor not be injured. 7. The flats north of the Mill-Dam should be included in the improvement. 8. The receiving basin should be filled up and laid out, and so disposed of as "to secure for it a healthy and thrifty population, and, by inherent and permanent causes, forever to prevent this territory from becoming the abode of filth and disease." 9. All this should be done by authority and under the direction of the State.

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The commissioners also discussed at length the question of riparian rights, coming to a conclusion which the General Court during the same year (1852) adopted, when, by a solemn declaratory act, it asserted the right and title of the Commonwealth as owner of all flats "lying below the ordinary line of riparian ownership." The General Court also adopted so much of the commissioners' system as was necessary to be acted upon at the time. A resolve was passed appointing commissioners to determine the respective rights of the parties claiming an interest in the flats, and to secure those of the State; which commissioners were empowered to sell or exchange the lands owned by the Commonwealth, and were instructed to devise a plan for filling and laying out the new lands. The corporations were, as the former commission had advised, authorized to change the purpose of their associations from mill to land holding and dealing. The new commissioners

set about their work with diligence. They made an agreement with the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation by which the title of the company to the lands north of the Mill-Dam, claimed by it, was confirmed unconditionally, and the corporation came under an obligation to make all its toll-roads free to public travel in a specified time A contract was made with the Boston Water-Power Company in which a line of division running from the uplands westward was substituted for the line representing the limit of riparian ownership. Thus the Commonwealth became possessed of all the unfilled lands north of an east and west line starting near the present station of the Providence Railroad, and south of the Mill-Dam, while the Water-Power Company took the rest of the flats.

The city of Boston was not a party to be so easily managed as were these corporations. The history of municipal obstruction to an enterprise which was to be of such vast benefit to the city is one of the least creditable chapters in the record of Boston. The commissioners first proposed to the city to extend Boylston Street to the cross-dam (Parker Street), and to lay out a street at a right angle with the Mill-Dam, from that road to Tremont Street. The space enclosed by Beacon, Boylston, and the new street was to be given to the city, on condition that the city should fill its own land, build one half the surrounding streets, add the land to the Public Garden, and engage that it should never be built upon. The land so proposed to be given was about half a million square feet. The offer was rejected. Another, nearly similar to it, was made in 1853, and was also rejected. At this time, as before, there was a strong party in the city council in favor of selling the land of the Public Garden as it then was. An elaborate report was made sustaining the legality of such a sale and advocating the measure on economical grounds; but it was more than hinted in public and private that the controlling reason in favor of such a disposition of the land was not economy but selfishness. Many of the city fathers were mechanics, who saw a chance for good building-jobs in case the land were sold.

In 1854 a third proposition was made to the city, which the council intimated it would accept if the State would convey to the city the land lying westward of the Public Garden, — about three and a half million square feet. Of course the commissioners would not listen to this condition. In their report to the Legislature they expressed their minds pretty freely as to the course of the city government. Touching the assumption by that government that it ought to own the lands to be reclaimed, they showed very clearly that the city had long before expressly resigned and made over to the Water-Power Company all the rights it possessed over these flats. In fact, a large part of the very land to which the city of Boston laid claim was actually within the municipal limits of Roxbury. With the intention of disposing completely of the city's assumption, the commissioners wrote: "The city of Boston is not now the owner of any lands or flats in the Back Bay, nor does it possess any proprietary or municipal right in or over the waters or flats of the Back Bay that can in any way limit or control the

power of the Commonwealth or of its assigns, touching the mode of filling up, laying out, draining, or occupying its lands and flats in the Back Bay." [1] Another argument employed by the city fathers was somewhat sarcastically answered thus: "It may be true that the city would be able to use that valuable property with very great advantage to the municipal treasury; but the Commonwealth is quite as able to use it for the benefit of the State treasury." And in reference to the assumption by the city that it would be best able to judge how the territory should properly be drained, the commissioners say: "The city has used and now uses the Back Bay as a cesspool."

A fourth report was made to the General Court in 1856. The city had proceeded, in disregard of the commissioners' plan for laying out the new lands, to sell its own land already filled; and this land had been built upon in such a way that some of the proposed new streets were out of the question. At the same time the city persisted in its refusal to come to terms with the commissioners, or rather neglected to take any action in regard to the matter. The time for beginning the work had come, however, and after renewed effort by the commissioners an agreement was reached in December, 1856, a few months before the work was actually begun, between the State, the city, and the Water-Power Company, and by a formal vote of the citizens the Public Garden was forever devoted to park purposes, and the city council was forbidden to erect upon it, or to allow to be erected, any building except a City Hall, or such structures as would be appropriate in a public pleasure-ground.[2] Under the law as it then existed, no appropriation having been made for the expense of filling the flats, the commissioners asked for authority to make contracts for filling, to sell the land as fast as it was made, and to use the proceeds in continuing the work. This authority was granted in 1857. Private individuals advanced money to the contractor, Mr. Munson; the land filled was promptly sold; and the State was never called upon to advance a dollar.

It had been a long struggle.[3] The practicability of such extensive filling had been called seriously in question. The desirableness of the land when filled was doubted by many. The city of Boston, by its government, had played a part of obstruction and of arrogance. The city of Roxbury had disputed the jurisdiction over a major part of the flats, with Boston; but through it all there were many men whose faith in the enterprise never faltered, and who pressed it upon the public attention with dogged perseverance. They long ago had their reward in the brilliant success of the scheme; and many of them were wise enough early to become large purchasers of the filled land, which they afterward sold at a handsome advance.

[1] The city council was advised to the same effect by Mr. Peleg W. Chandler, the city solicitor during a part of the time when this controversy was going on. Mr. Chandler was one of the earliest and most persistent advocates of the Back Bay improvement.

[2] [See further on the history of the Public Garden in Colonel Wilder's chapter in the present volume on "The Horticulture of Boston and Vicinity." — Ed.]

[3] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

The filling has been going on for more than twenty years, and is now nearly completed. A few acres only of "the beautiful sheet of water" which once skirted the Common are now covered by the tide, and every day sees that little area diminished. The improvement has given to Boston its West End, its fashionable quarter, and has put millions of dollars in the State treasury.

East Boston, now one of the most important divisions of the city, was, only half a century ago, a barren and almost treeless island, having upon it but a single farm-house,[1] and being inhabited but by a single family. The improvement of Noddle's Island had long been a favorite project of General William H. Sumner, and its accomplishment was due very largely to his sagacity and persistence. His mother was a part owner of the island; and as early as the death of his father in 1799, although he was then only nineteen years of age, he conceived plans for improving the estate. He made an unsuccessful attempt to secure the location of the turnpike road from Boston to Salem by way of Noddle's Island; and made a pilgrimage to Washington in 1801 to obtain a reversal of the decision to locate the Navy Yard, then about to be established at Charlestown. Although he failed also in this plan he did not despair, and lived to see the fulfilment of his boy's dream of a city on the then barren island. Five years after his mother's death, in 1810, a division of the estate by lot gave the share in Noddle's Island to one of his sisters, greatly to his disappointment. Although he acted as agent for this sister, and had still much at heart the object of improving the island, it was many years before the opportunity came to set energetically about carrying through the enterprise to completion.

It was in or about 1825 that the project began to take form, but no progress whatever was made for several years. By 1830 the number of people who had more or less interest in the property was quite large, and the task of uniting them all in one company, having for its object the development of the island, appeared to be hopeless. Nevertheless, General Sumner set about it. He interested several large capitalists in his plans, bought the interest of some of the owners outright, and engaged the co-operation of others by paying them part in cash and part in stock of a company to be formed. Finally, all difficulties were cleared away, the East Boston Company was chartered in May, 1833,[2] and the corporation succeeded to the ownership of the whole island by a clear title.

East Boston at that time consisted of six hundred and sixty-three acres of upland and marsh, and several hundred acres of flats, which had been declared[3] by the General Court to belong to the island by a special act of

[1] [A view of this house is given in Sumner's *East Boston*, p. 460. — Ed.]

[2] It is interesting to note that when the question of incorporating the company was first brought before the Legislature, it was proposed to call it the North Boston Company; but on the motion of Lot Pool, an influential member of the House of Representatives from Charlestown, "East" was substituted, — Mr. Pool remarking that he wished to reserve the designation "North" for Charlestown when it should be annexed to Boston.

[3] "It is declared that the flats round about Nodle's Island do belong to Nodle's Island to

May 13, 1640. To illustrate the lack of faith in the land enterprise of one who should have been enthusiastic over it, General Sumner relates that the single inhabitant of the island, Mr. Williams, who had lived there forty years and had grown rich as a tenant farmer, was offered an acre of land for nothing if he would build a house upon it. The offer was contemptuously declined.

The charter of the company provided that land, not exceeding four acres in all, should be set apart for public purposes, — for sites for school and engine-houses, and burial-ground. In accordance with this provision of law, the mayor (Mr. Wells) and aldermen of the city visited Noddle's Island in company with the directors, May 4, 1833, to select the public lots. This was the first time that any officers of Boston had ever visited the island in a capacity which implied that the municipal jurisdiction extended over it. The first dwelling-house was erected that year by Mr. Guy C. Haynes, and was occupied by him in September. The enterprise being now fully started, a public sale of lands was held, which with the proceeds of previous private sales netted the sum of $86,000, or $6,000 more than the company had paid for the whole island. From that time onward the history of East Boston was one of almost uninterrupted prosperity. At the end of 1833 only eight persons were living on the island, of whom five were temporary residents who moved away soon afterward. The valuation of the whole property in the same year was only $60,000. The growth was so rapid that in 1835 the population had increased to six hundred, and the taxable valuation was $806,000. The location of the Eastern Railroad terminus at East Boston the next year, the erection of the Maverick House, and the establishment of the Cunard Line to Liverpool in 1840 made the future of the island sure. Its further history is merged with that of the city of which it so quickly became an important part.[1]

The South Cove improvement is a good illustration of the energy and enterprise of the Bostonians of half a century ago. It was devised as an auxiliary and supplement of the Boston & Worcester Railroad enterprise, to give a terminus and yard room for the railroad. The originators of the scheme, who were known as the South Cove Associates, were incorporated

the ordinary lowe water marke." — *Massachusetts Records*, i. 291.

[1] East Boston was, in 1834, the scene of a novel experiment in railroading. This was in the very infancy of the railroad system, when as yet neither the Worcester nor the Providence Railroad, chartered in 1831, was in operation, and less than ten years from the opening of the first railroad in the world. Colonel Henry Sargent, having invented a suspension railroad, solicited permission from the East Boston Company to make his experiment on their land. This was readily granted, although no great confidence was felt in the invention, as it was supposed that the novelty of the affair would bring people across the ferry and make the island a place of resort. The peculiarity of the road was that it had but one rail. The car was hung in the middle, and was kept in position by lateral wheels. The wags likened the affair to saddle-bags. The experiment met with but little success, and the trains were after a short time discontinued. The incident is interesting at this time from the fact that a railroad on this plan, with a very slight modification, was proposed in 1881 for the projected elevated system in the Boston streets, as something new under the sun.

as a company in 1833. The capital subscribed amounted to $414,500, in $500 shares. The company obtained from the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company an agreement to buy a large amount of land, and to establish and maintain the terminus of the road upon the reclaimed land forever. The South Cove company bought two million three hundred and seventy-five thousand feet of flats, at an average price of twelve cents a foot. This purchase, together with some pieces of other property which the company was forced to take in order to secure the flats, and a tract of marsh and upland in Roxbury, cost $316,084. Other estates were subsequently added, until the property in the South Cove, in 1836, amounted to more than three million square feet, or seventy-three acres.

The filling was carried on at an extremely rapid rate, considering the limited facilities; but it was only in November, 1839, that it was completed. In a little more than six years the company had reclaimed fifty-five acres of land from the dock tide-waters, and had added seventy-seven acres in all to the area of the city. The material was brought chiefly in boats from the company's gravel pit in Roxbury and from Dorchester, but a part of it was obtained in Brighton and transported by the railroad. The amount of such material was but little less than a million and a half cubic yards. In addition to the work of filling, the company built a sea-wall three hundred and eighty feet in length. The new streets added to the city had an aggregate length of fifteen thousand three hundred and fifty feet, or nearly three miles.

The enterprise made ultimately a financial success; but it saw many dark days. Soon after the land was ready to be put into the market, the financial crash of 1837 interfered to postpone the realization of many hopes. The construction of the United States Hotel, too, an enterprise in which the corporation directly engaged, was so serious a drag upon the resources of the company that at one time failure seemed to be inevitable. The hotel was, when constructed, the largest in the country.[1] Finally the two undertakings were divorced, and both were eventually successful. The Old Colony Railroad Company, when first built, made use of what was until lately the inward station of the Albany Railroad; but afterward bought land of the corporation and erected station buildings upon it. The company paid for the land in its own stock, at par; and the South Cove Corporation distributed one share of railroad stock for each share of its own stock, as a dividend, making a twenty per cent dividend.

The annexation of Roxbury to Boston was a measure of great importance in itself and in its consequences. The subject was agitated many years before anything resulted except agitation. At first the idea was

[1] The freight station of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company was also said, at the time, to be the largest structure of the kind in the country. Mr. Francis Jackson, agent of the South Cove Corporation for fifteen years or more, argued, in his report for 1838, that the United States Hotel was not likely to be too large, and gave as one evidence of the growth of Boston that "the Worcester Railroad now transports about one hundred passengers daily."

favored by only a few people, and though they were persistent in their presentation of the matter before the Legislature, they were treated with little patience and scant respect at the State House. In a city document of Roxbury, of the year 1852, it is mentioned that the question of annexation was then before the Legislature for the third time.[1] There was a protracted hearing that year before the committee on towns, the matter being brought up on the petition of Isaac T. Allard and others. The committee reported their conclusion "that although Boston at some future period may include within her limits not only Roxbury, but all the towns and villages within a circuit of four to six miles," yet the exigency had not arrived when Roxbury could advantageously unite her destinies with Boston; that the respective wants of the two cities could be as well met without annexation as with it; that it did not appear that a majority of the people of Roxbury desired the union; and consequently that the petitioners should have leave to withdraw.

The next serious attempts to carry through the project were in 1859 and 1860, in both of which years reports were made by committees in favor of the union; but the bill submitted was in each case stifled in the House to which it was reported. Previous to this time the city government of Roxbury had submitted the question to the legal voters, with the result of showing but two hundred and sixty-two persons in the city favorable to the project of annexation. In 1865 it came up again, and this time it was deemed of sufficient importance to be referred to a select committee, who made a unanimous report in favor of the union. The report was made in the Senate, and remained on the table of that body a long time before action upon it was taken. Finally it came on for discussion, and, on a division, was refused a third reading by eighteen to fifteen. Subsequently the rejection was reconsidered and the bill was amended, after which it was again refused a third reading. A second motion to reconsider was lost by a tie vote. The bill provided for a submission of the act to the voters of the two cities, and it was not to have force unless it was accepted by a majority of the voters of each city. Of course it never reached the House of Representatives.

In April, 1866, the city council of Boston passed an order providing that whenever the municipal authorities of any city or town adjoining Boston should give notice of a desire to be annexed, it should be the duty of the mayor to appoint three commissioners to meet an equal number of commissioners from such city or town, and to make a full report to the city council upon "the financial, industrial, and sanitary condition of the city or town applying for annexation, with such suggestions as they may think proper regarding conditions which would make annexation desirable." The city council of Roxbury during the same year adopted an order pro-

[1] The occasion was the severance of West Roxbury from Roxbury, after the grant of a city charter. West Roxbury was originally opposed to the change, and claimed and obtained a separate town charter in 1851, five years after Roxbury became a city.

viding for a conference, and under its provisions William Gaston, Theodore Otis, and James Ritchie were made commissioners; and the mayor of Boston appointed William Gray, Moses Kimball, and A. S. Wheeler to meet them. The commissioners reported to their respective city councils the next year, — those for Boston on Feb. 18, 1867, and those for Roxbury two or three weeks later. The reports were unanimous in each case in favor of the union. The Boston commissioners entered largely into statistics, comparing the area, population, debt, taxes, valuation, schools, and other facts regarding the two cities. The proposition "that a large additional territory will soon become a necessity for the healthful growth of Boston" was argued at some length. The report concluded as follows: —

"We are led, by our investigation of this subject, to the conviction that immediate annexation is equally important to Boston and Roxbury. If Boston would be the gainer by the addition of vacant territory, she will be the greater gainer by annexing a territory already occupied and improved by a people who have accompanied her own in the progress which they have already achieved. We are satisfied that in all material respects the two communities are nearly equal in the advantages which each offers to the other; and we believe that the welfare of both will be greatly promoted by the early consummation of annexation."

The Roxbury commissioners likewise discussed the subject in all its bearings. The chief argument employed was that the sanitary condition of a part of Roxbury, which could not be efficiently protected from filth and disease, except by such a comprehensive system of drainage as Boston alone could supply, demanded the union; but the commissioners further expressed the opinion that annexation was inevitable sooner or later, and that the time was opportune on many accounts. "The few local and temporary interests which oppose it must yield to the pressing demands and wants of a great people. The interests of both cities, and to a large extent the interests of the Commonwealth, are involved in it, and these must soon overwhelm all opposition."

There was opposition, but it was slow in manifesting itself, and was at a disadvantage from the start. The project had gained great headway. Both city governments were in favor of it, and the reports referred to above greatly strengthened the movement. A meeting was held in Roxbury, and a committee was appointed to advocate the union before the legislative committee. The county of Norfolk, however, prepared to resist being robbed of the most important community within its limits. The local opponents pointed out the weak spots in the commissioners' reports. The one great need of Roxbury was an additional water supply, and the strongest argument among Roxbury people in favor of annexation was based upon that need; but water was the one thing which Boston, by the admission of her own commissioners, could not supply with existing facilities. Moreover, it was urged that Boston was then about to enter upon a number of large improvements within the city proper, which would call for

heavy appropriations and increased taxes upon Roxbury, were the union to take place. The hearing at the State House was held at the end of March and early in April. The petitioners introduced a great number of gentlemen representing a large variety of interests, all of whom warmly advocated the union. The opponents offered no testimony; but Mr. Safford, chairman of the Norfolk County commissioners, made a long and able address, in which the argument against annexation was forcibly presented.

During all the preliminary discussion it had never been suggested by anybody that the Legislature should take the matter into its own hands absolutely, and marry the two cities without formally consulting their wishes. Many old opponents of the annexation had withdrawn from resistance so far as to express a willingness that the question should be submitted to the people of the two cities, and decided by their votes. The *Norfolk County Journal*, edited by Mr. George H. Monroe, who was personally an opponent of annexation, had hardly noticed the progress of the measure further than to print the reports and accounts of the hearing. Great, therefore, was the surprise, indignation, and consternation of the opposition, when the committee reported to the Senate, in May, a bill providing for a summary union of the cities. The unanimity of the committee, the strong Boston influence in favor of the absorption of Roxbury, and the activity of a well trained lobby, left the opponents very little reason to hope that their rights, as they regarded them, would restrain the Legislature from consummating the union.

The debate in the Senate was not a long one. An amendment to the bill, providing for a submission of the question to the voters of the two cities, was rejected by twenty-four votes against four, and the bill was ordered to a third reading by twenty-six to three. It was afterward passed to be engrossed without a division; and a reconsideration being moved, was refused by a tie vote, — thirteen against thirteen. In the House of Representatives the submission amendment was brought forward, and was there also rejected, but by a close vote; ninety-three being in favor of it, and one hundred and three opposed. Among the prominent men in the House that year may be mentioned the Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, Francis W. Bird, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and John S. Potter, who voted for submission; and Daniel L. Harris, Harvey Jewell, and Moses Kimball, who voted against it.[1] The

[1] It is interesting to notice the reasons urged by the advocates of the summary annexation for refusing to allow the voters of the two cities to decide the matter. The opponents of annexation taunted the other side with being afraid to trust their measure to a popular vote. They maintained that the sentiment in favor of union, as indicated by the action of the city governments, was fictitious, and that a popular vote would show it to be so. To this it was replied that the State had full power over the boundaries of cities and towns, and might obliterate them altogether; that there was a grave question if the General Court might make the enactment of a law dependent upon the votes of citizens; that it was a part of the deep game of the "Antis," having secured the submission clause, to maintain before the Supreme Court the proposition that the act was unconstitutional; and, finally, that the question of union was not one concerning the people of the two cities alone, but that other cities and towns, — all the people of the State, in fact, — were interested in the government of the chief city and should, equally with Boston and Roxbury, be allowed to vote on the question.

bill was ordered to a third reading on May 28, without a count. The next day numerous amendments were proposed, but were all rejected, and the bill was passed to be engrossed without a division. The enactment of the bill was resisted, but it was carried, and the bill was laid before the Governor. It was promptly vetoed, and returned to the Senate June 1, the very day of prorogation. The message of Governor Bullock[1] was a calm and temperate criticism of the high-handed act which the Legislature had attempted to commit. His Excellency did not try to conceal his opinion that the union itself was a measure of questionable wisdom. But he protested against its being accomplished without consulting the people of a municipality which had had a corporate existence for two hundred and thirty-seven years, as to their willingness to be absorbed by their greater neighbor; nor those of the city of Boston, who might be decidedly averse to undertaking jurisdiction over new territory, and to assuming the Roxbury debt. On the reconsideration required by the Constitution, the Senate voted to pass the bill, notwithstanding the objections of the Governor, twenty-five to nine. The House rejected it, not even a majority supporting it. The ayes were eighty-three; the noes, one hundred and twenty-one. A new bill was immediately introduced, being the vetoed bill with the submission clause added, which was passed through all its stages, under a suspension of the rules, in both branches, and was signed by Governor Bullock, the whole process having been gone through in a few hours.

The question was thus remitted to the people. At first there seemed to be a chance that the measure would be successfully opposed; but the advantages of union were too apparent long to leave the hope of such an issue. Some efforts were made to arouse the opposition, but they did not effect much. The campaign was conducted languidly, and appeals to the pride and pockets of Roxbury men met with no response. Even before the vote was taken, the most strenuous opponents of annexation began to reconcile themselves to the inevitable. The election was made September 9. Every ward of both cities voted for union, and, with one exception in each city, by more than two to one. The vote of Boston was four thousand six hundred and thirty-four for annexation, and one thousand and fifty-nine against it. In Roxbury it was one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two in favor, and five hundred and ninety-two opposed. The contest was ended; and Roxbury was, to use a witticism of which the author has doubtless repented long ago, *Suffolkated*. The verdict of the people was instantly accepted with the best of feeling by all, and every trace of bitterness disappeared as if by magic. It had been complained that after union Roxbury would not have her due proportion of representation in the city council; but on a further examination the complaint was

[1] The message was accompanied by a long opinion by Attorney-General Charles Allen, in which the view that the General Court might submit such an act to the voters, and make the enactment dependent upon their decision, was maintained; and precedents were cited to sustain this position. This view of the matter has obtained ever since.

discovered to be unfounded. The voters of Roxbury participated in the city election in December, and the union became complete at the beginning of January, 1868.[1]

It is most convenient to add here the brief details of the later annexations. The movement in favor of adding Dorchester to the city began very soon after the union of Boston and Roxbury. It met with strenuous opposition, however, in the old town. An act was passed by the Legislature of 1869, and approved June 4 of that year, submitting the question to a vote of the people in the city and town. The election was held June 22. Boston voted more than six to one in favor of annexation, the numbers being three thousand four hundred and twenty ayes to five hundred and sixty-five noes. Dorchester agreed by a small majority, — nine hundred and twenty-eight votes being cast in favor of the union, and seven hundred and twenty-six against it.[2] Four years later, in 1873, the project of annexing several municipalities in the neighborhood was taken up in earnest. In Charlestown, in fact, the idea was an old one, having been brought forward at various times in the previous twenty years; and for some years before 1873 the annexation question had been the leading issue before the voters of that city. As a result of the agitation the Legislature submitted the question of annexation to the voters of Charlestown, Brighton, Brookline, and West Roxbury, the consent of the people of each place, and of Boston, being required for each separate annexation. The voting took place October 7. Boston agreed to accept all the new responsibilities offered to it, and only Brookline refused its consent to be absorbed.[3] No annexations have taken place since 1873.

The creation of new land by filling, and the cutting down of Beacon Hill gave opportunities for the laying out of streets in a regular system, such as was never thought of in the original planning of old Boston; but great inconveniences grew, as Boston increased in size, out of the narrowness and crookedness of the old streets. Some enterprises of much importance, considering the times and the wealth of Boston, were undertaken, as occasion seemed to require, at the public expense, after the organization of the city government; but the aggregate amount expended in the widening and extension of streets from 1822 to 1866, a period of forty-four years, was but $4,418,283 in the city proper; $75,980 in South Boston; and

[1] [See the chapters by Mr. Bugbee and Mr. Drake in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] Between the time of this vote and the actual union with Boston, Dorchester made sure several internal improvements by liberal votes at town-meetings, the money to carry them out being raised by loans which became, in January, 1870, a part of the debt of Boston. [See Mr. Barrows's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] The voting was as follows. As to Charlestown, Boston voted, — ayes, 5,860, noes, 1,863; Charlestown, ayes, 2,240, noes, 1,947. As to Brighton, Boston voted, — ayes, 5,629, noes, 1,933; Brighton, ayes 622, noes, 133. As to West Roxbury, Boston voted, — ayes, 6,110, noes, 1,663; West Roxbury, ayes, 720, noes, 613. As to Brookline, Boston voted, — ayes, 6,205, noes, 1,516; Brookline, ayes, 299, noes, 706. [Brookline had been taken from Suffolk County and added to Norfolk County in 1793. It will be remembered that it was originally a grant to Boston men. — Ed.]

$4,742 in East Boston, — the total being barely more than $100,000 a year on an average.[1]

The year 1866 marks the end of the period of economy in street improvement, and a season of lavish expenditure set in. The next year the demolition of Fort Hill was begun. This district, which was at one time[2] covered with magnificent residences, had been invaded by a class of inhabitants so little to the taste of the people who lived there that it had been abandoned altogether to the new comers. Business had stretched its arms all around the territory, and the hill itself was crowded with tenement houses inhabited by throngs of persons of foreign birth. The renovation of the district was undertaken both for sanitary reasons and because the land was greatly needed for commercial purposes. The territory involved was about twenty acres in extent, and was bounded by Pearl, Milk, and Broad streets. In 1867 and the following years an average reduction of twenty-five feet was made in the grade of the whole district. The hill at its highest point was fifty feet above the present level. The material was largely employed in filling for the extension of Albany Street, between Troy Street and the Dover Street bridge, and in the Suffolk Street district.

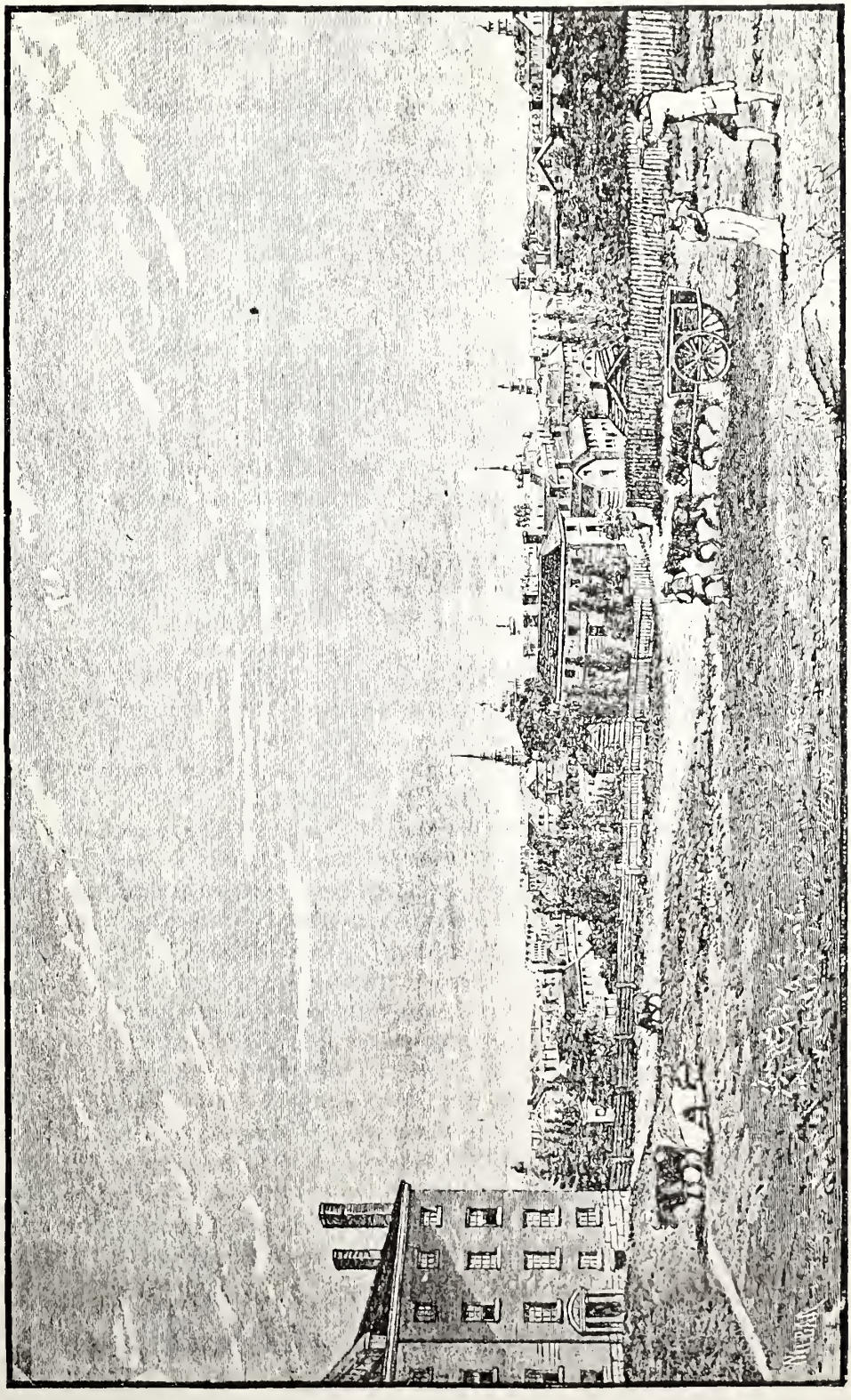
The Church Street improvement was undertaken almost wholly as a sanitary measure. The district lying between the Boston and Albany Railroad, where it crosses Tremont Street, and Columbus Avenue was hardly above the tide level, and in some places was below it. In 1868 a commission, appointed for the purpose by the authority of the city council, was directed to raise all the street grades to a height of eighteen feet above mean low-water, and back yards and cellars to twelve feet. The work was completed in October, 1869. In making this improvement two hundred and ninety-six brick buildings were raised and set on new foundations from ten to fourteen feet above their former situation; seven streets were widened; and Columbus Avenue was extended through to Boylston Street. The total cost of the undertaking to the city was more than one million dollars.[3]

The companion improvement, that of the Suffolk Street district, was begun in September, 1870. This enterprise involved the raising of the territory between Dover, Tremont, Pleasant, and Washington streets, — an area of about thirty-one acres. In this work nearly one quarter of a million cubic yards of filling-material were used, a part of it being transferred from Fort Hill. Of seven hundred and forty-nine buildings on the territory when the change was begun, about one hundred and fifty were demol-

[1] The largest sum expended on any one street was $394,163 upon Devonshire Street. The gross expenditure upon Washington Street was only $291,025 for the whole time. The North End received much the largest share of the improvement funds, — Blackstone, Commercial, Court, Friend, Hanover, North, and Union streets having had the sum of $1,142,234 expended upon them; and numerous other streets small sums, amounting to very much in the aggregate.

[2] [The annexed cut represents the view from the slope of Fort Hill about 1806, following an original painting owned by William H. Whitmore. — Ed.]

[3] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III.—Ed.]



FROM FORT HILL, 1806.

ished, and the rest were raised to grade. Extensive alterations were made in street lines. Suffolk Street itself was extended through to Tremont Street, and became the northern end of Shawmut Avenue. The total cost of the improvement was not far from two and a half millions. The work was substantially finished in May, 1872.[1]

The filling in of the water spaces between wharves, for the formation of Atlantic Avenue, was the most costly improvement of the kind ever undertaken by the city. The work was mostly done between the years 1868 and 1870, and the total cost of the avenue to the year 1880 was more than $2,400,000, making it the most expensive street in the city, with the exception of Washington Street, and but little less than that. This enterprise gave a broad way along the water front, which has proved of the greatest value to the commerce of Boston.[2]

Boston has been many times visited by destructive fires, several of which, including the worst of all, have occurred within the last century. On April 20, 1787, a fire broke out in Hollis Street Church, which speedily communicated to other buildings, and was not extinguished until more than one hundred structures, including sixty dwelling-houses, were consumed.[3] Six years later, in 1793, the square from Pearl Street to the water was swept bare; six or seven rope-walks and about one hundred stores and residences were destroyed.[4] In 1824 a fire originating near the corner of Charles and Chestnut streets, spreading to Beacon Street, destroyed sixteen valuable buildings, and inflicted the (for that time) great loss of $150,000. Flying cinders set fire to many houses at a distance, but fortunately the flames were extinguished. On Fast Day, in 1825, fifty stores were burned in Central and Kilby streets, involving a loss of a million dollars. In November of the same year ten buildings on Court Street, in which were many lawyers' offices, were destroyed. On May 18, 1835, a fire destroyed about forty buildings in Blackstone, Pond, and Salem streets, turning more than one hundred families out of doors.

The most destructive fire which ever occurred in Boston broke out shortly after seven o'clock in the evening of Saturday, Nov. 9, 1872, in the four-story granite block numbered 83, 85, and 87 Summer Street, at the corner of Kingston Street. Before the flames were extinguished, a space of sixty-five acres, thickly covered with brick and stone warehouses, had been completely burned over, involving a loss of property valued at seventy-five million dollars.[5] At the time the fire occurred almost every horse in the city was still sick, or was just recovering from the strange disease which, for want of a better name, was called "the epizoötic," and which practically disabled them. It has always been a question, however, if the engines were any longer than usual in arriving, and the blame is believed to rest partly

[1] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter. — Ed.]

[2] [The previous water front of Broad and India streets had been laid out in 1808–9. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. III., Introduction, p. vii. — Ed.]

[4] [Ibid., p. viii. — Ed.]

[5] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter. — Ed.]

upon those who gave the alarm. At all events when the engines arrived it was already a dangerous fire, and another alarm was sounded at once. An open elevator, or lift, lined with wood, had communicated the flames to every story, and in a short time the interior of the building, from cellar to attic, was a mass of roaring fire. Still, it may be questioned if any person who saw even that first brilliant sight felt any apprehension of a dangerous extension of the fire.

The appreciation of danger came gradually, but it came irresistibly. The intense heat of the flames passed through the partition walls and communicated with the next building. The fire passed up and down the street. The building on the opposite corner of Kingston Street caught. Summer Street also was crossed at about the same time, and the whole district was doomed. Alarm had followed alarm in quick succession, and had brought to the scene not only the entire fire department of the city, but a vast throng of citizens. As soon as the extremely dangerous character of the fire was recognized, despatches were sent to all the suburban cities and towns, imploring the help of their engines and firemen; but by this time not only was the fire beyond the control of any force of firemen which could have been employed, but there was a scarcity of water, without which all effort must be ineffectual. This district, formerly covered with residences, had been newly appropriated for business purposes, and the water pipes had not been enlarged since the change was made. They were too small to carry the enormous quantities of water required; and they were fitted with hydrants of an old-fashioned pattern and ill adapted to the purpose. The flames spread in all directions. They advanced steadily up Summer Street, on both sides, towards Washington Street; they moved southward towards the Albany station; eastward towards the water; and northward into the very business heart of the city,—and in the latter direction most rapidly of all. It was an enlarging circle of fire. To attack it methodically seemed to be, and probably at that stage of its progress was, out of the question. Scarcely an attempt was made to stop its movement towards the wharves. Resistance was more effectual on the south side, where the buildings were not high, and by midnight it was practically checked in that direction; but by that hour the fire was close upon Washington Street. A most gallant and determined effort was made to hold the line of that street, and though it required such energy and fortitude as have rarely been demanded of firemen, it was successful.

The path of the fire was now fan-shaped. It extended in breadth the whole length of Summer Street, and advanced northward with inconceivable fury along the whole line from the harbor front to Washington Street. The streets were narrow and the buildings high. There was no point where a stand could be made. An engine stationed anywhere near the fire could not be got in working order before it became necessary either to remove it with all haste or to abandon it. Those who saw that terrible sight will never forget it, and the sounds were almost as fearful as the sight. The night sky

was grandly illuminated, and a wild shower of burning brands and cinders was passing over the district which was shortly to be devastated. The crash of falling walls became an almost continuous roar. The streets were filled, as they were rarely filled at midday, with men and teams carrying away all portable goods to a place of safety. Perhaps there was no single point where the amazing power of the fire was so well observed as from the empty space where Fort Hill had been. The hill had been cut away but not built upon. Between it and the flames was Pearl Street, solidly built with handsome granite stores, where the shoe trade of the city had its headquarters. It happened that the fire attacked the whole street at once. Hardly five minutes elapsed after the appearance, to those watching from the Fort Hill space, of the first spark in one of the stores, before the whole block was a mass of roaring fire. The great warehouses were converted into so many furnaces, and the heat and light were so intense that at a distance of several hundred feet it was painful to face the fire many minutes at once. In almost as little time as it requires to read the account, the walls grew red-hot, the floor timbers began to fall against the walls, and the great structures tottered and fell like a house of cards, but with a thundering crash.

The fire raged until Sunday afternoon. The firemen, having succeeded in holding the line of Washington Street, undertook to gain on the enemy by narrowing its path at Milk Street. The Old South Church and the new Post-Office were used as barriers, and success was achieved. Point after point was gained by the weary but plucky men, thanks to the division of the fire by the vacant Fort Hill district, and at last it only remained to save single buildings from destruction, leaving those which had taken fire to burn. When this had been done, there was an opportunity to look around and see the extent of the desolation.

The city was in a deplorable condition. The wild excitement of that terrible night and day had unstrung the nerves of the strongest. Thousands upon thousands of people had seen their property consumed, or had been thrown out of employment, for how long nobody could guess. All the open spaces in the city, and even many in suburban towns, together with hundreds of private houses, were filled with merchandise hastily removed and in the utmost confusion. The lawless had taken full advantage of their opportunity, and many men not habitual criminals had been tempted too strongly by the chance to pilfer. The whole community was on the verge of panic. No time was lost in taking measures to reinforce the police, who were not numerous enough for the emergency. A whole brigade of militia was called out for active duty. A cordon of guards was stationed completely around the burnt district, and companies were located in various parts of the city, provided with arms and ammunition, to be ready for marching at a moment's notice. The Old South was again devoted to military purposes, and became a barrack for militia. Guards patrolled the streets at night. In short, until the danger of disorder had subsided,

the city was under military rule. Happily the precaution was sufficient to prevent a breach of the peace.

The boundaries of the district burned over were, — beginning at the foot of Summer Street, taking both sides of that street, — Summer, Washington, Milk to the rear of the new Post-Office and around it, Devonshire, Water (both sides), Congress, Lindall, and Oliver, to the water front. One could stand at the corner of Washington and Franklin streets, and see the masts of the shipping in the harbor. Seven hundred and seventy-six buildings, of which all but sixty-seven were of brick or stone, were consumed. Fourteen lives were lost, seven being firemen. Comparatively a small number of dwelling-houses were destroyed. The poor suffered rather from the loss of employment than from being rendered homeless. Measures of relief were organized at once, but the assistance which was freely and generously tendered by the people of other cities was declined. The sum of $341,913.68 was collected, but it was not all needed, and about $20,000 were returned to the donors.[1] The emergency seemed to be sufficiently pressing to render a special session of the Legislature desirable, and at the request of the city council Governor Washburn summoned the General Court at once. The insurance companies of the State, nearly every one of which, having risks in Boston, had been bankrupted, were authorized to reorganize. A building-law was passed to enable the city authorities to prevent the erection of structures which would, like those destroyed, only serve to speed the flames. An act was also passed legalizing an issue of Boston city-bonds to provide a fund loanable to real estate owners upon mortgages of their property, to enable them to rebuild. This latter act was unsatisfactory to the originators of the scheme, and was amended at the regular session soon after held. Before any action had been taken under this act, the Supreme Court put a veto upon the dangerous precedent by pronouncing the act unconstitutional.[2]

Private enterprise was, however, equal to the necessities of the case. The work of rebuilding began almost immediately, and was prosecuted energetically. The earliest structures were solid, but plain architecturally. That was, nevertheless, not to be the general fashion. An increasing tendency to picturesqueness of style and higher ornamentation was observed; and in the course of two years the whole district had been rebuilt in all respects better than before the fire. Advantage was taken, meanwhile, of the opportunity to improve the avenues. Numerous changes were made. Summer Street was widened, and so were Washington, Hawley, Milk, Devonshire, Oliver, and others. Post-Office Square was laid out. Pearl, Franklin, and other streets were extended. The expense of these changes[3] was very

[1] [The chief authority for the history of this fire must be the *Report* of the committee of the city council to investigate its cause and progress; but an excellent summary will be found in Mr. James M. Bugbee's paper in the *North American Review*, cxvii. The newspapers of the day, and several hasty narratives by Coffin, Conwell, and Frothingham, are of doubtful service. — Ed.]

[2] [See Governor Long's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] The expense of the most important improvements in street lines made at this time was

great, but it was wisely incurred. The gain in convenience, in appearance, and in security was worth all the money expended. It would be impossible for a fire to cross the wide streets which now intersect the wholesale district of Boston and divide it by limits which must circumscribe the area of devastation. At the same time that the streets were remodelled, as it were, new and larger water-pipes were laid, and improved hydrants were fitted to them. At present, as for a number of years past, the "burnt district" makes itself known to the observer only by the more spacious streets which run through it, and by the more elegant structures which adorn it.

Within a few months after the great fire of 1872 there were several others, which at another time would have been regarded as calamitous. Within a very few days, in fact, a threatening fire broke out in the high, narrow, triangular building which then stood opposite the head of Washington Street, dividing it from Cornhill. The building was so much weakened that it was of necessity taken down, and the opportunity was seized for pressing through to consummation the long-talked-of plan of extending Washington Street northward to Haymarket Square.

On May 30, 1873, Decoration Day, a fire broke out in the furniture warehouse of Haley, Morse, & Co. on Washington Street. It quickly extended across the street and consumed the Globe Theatre, Chickering's piano-forte warerooms, Chauncy Hall School, and other buildings. Two acres of land were burned over, and the loss of property was estimated at one million dollars. Ten persons who had been burned out in the fire of November 9 previous were again sufferers by the Decoration Day fire. The improvement, by widening, of Washington and Beach streets, made the only permanent topographical changes which resulted from this fire.

During the last eight years no important improvement, involving a great change in the topographical features of the city, has been undertaken either by public or by private enterprise, unless the project of a Back Bay park deserves to be mentioned as such. The proposed park is really but a part of the extensive filling which has been going on for many years, and which has already been described at length. The work, which is still going on, has rendered necessary an important change in the channel by which the waters of Muddy River, in Brookline, reach the Charles River, in crossing the Back Bay and Beacon Street.[1]

as follows, as estimated in the auditor's report: Washington Street, widened, $338,000; Summer Street, widened, $294,000; Congress Street, widened, $515,000; Federal Street, widened, $342,000; Pearl Street, extended, $170,000; Milk Street, widened, $297,000; Franklin Street, extended, $170,000; Oliver Street, extended, $131,000; Hawley Street, widened, $278,000; Arch Street, widened and extended, $335,000; Water Street, widened, $212,000; Post-Office Square, laid out, $112,000. The total estimated cost of these and other changes exceeded three and one half million dollars.

[1] From the time of the city charter, 1822, to May, 1880, the expenditures by the city in the extension and widening of streets amounted to nearly twenty-seven million dollars. The streets upon which more than half a million dollars each was expended, with the amounts, were: Atlantic Avenue, $2,404,000; Broadway extension, $919,000; Columbus Avenue, $524,000; Congress Street, $1,224,000; Devonshire Street, $1,518,000;

Having now mentioned the more important events which have had their influence, greater or less, in transforming Boston — a small, irregular, rugged, and hilly peninsula — into a great city with many square miles of territory, at the same time converting the ancient town into a broad and spacious tract of comparatively level ground, let us turn our attention to such of the structures, ancient and modern, as call for notice in this chapter. These are not numerous. The last one hundred years have seen most of the earlier buildings disappear; and of the modern edifices, many of the most interesting are more appropriately described in other chapters of this work. In the latter class may be mentioned the churches and most of the public buildings; while of the former, many were described in the second volume.

The North End offers but little that is interesting at present. Its glory has departed. It was long ago abandoned as a fashionable, or even as a respectable, quarter for residences, except in a few small districts.[1] The old buildings have gone to ruin from neglect, and have taken on, even in their outward aspect, something of the seedy and degraded air of those who inhabit them. Copp's Hill burying-ground, Christ Church, and Faneuil Hall are almost the only memorials of the past in this quarter of the city which are still worth visiting, and the first two are now substantially as they were a hundred years ago. Faneuil Hall is still one of the most attractive objects in the city to the stranger. It was not only the scene of those stirring meetings in which the latent patriotism of the Revolutionary fathers was aroused, but it has continued to be the headquarters of every popular movement in which the interest of Boston has been excited. Within its walls have been discussed the various burning questions of the Embargo, the Tariff, Slavery, Secession, and Paper Money. Lafayette, the Prince de Joinville, Lord Ashburton, and other guests of the city have been entertained here. Webster, Everett, Sumner, and other representatives of Massachusetts in the Senate or House of Representatives have from the old rostrum given an account of their stewardship. The wrongs and sufferings of Greece, Ireland, and other unfortunate countries have been told; the rights and demands of labor have been urged; the claims of parties have been set forth; political victories have been celebrated. Faneuil Hall has not always spoken with the voice of Boston, but nothing which has profoundly agitated Boston for more than a hundred years has found the old hall silent.

Adjoining the Cradle of Liberty stands Faneuil Hall Market, which, owing to the use that is made of it, is already taking on a venerable aspect. The construction of this great market-house was, at the time it was undertaken, the most important enterprise ever assumed by Boston, and its history has been told in another chapter.[2]

Hanover Street, $1,651,000; Oliver Street, $607,000; Tremont Street, $717,000; Washington Street, $2,517,000; Water Street, $564,000,—total for these ten streets, $12,645,000. The aggregate mentioned is exclusive of the cost of the Fort Hill, Church Street, and Suffolk Street improvements, and of course does not include the cost of new streets on the Back Bay.

[1] [Shurtleff traces the decline of the North End to a time just succeeding the Revolution. — *Description of Boston*, p. 138. — Ed.]

[2] [Mr. Bugbee's, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

Upon and near Causeway Street stand four of the railroad passenger stations. Not only the land, but the system of which these structures are the visible reminders, are the creation of the present century. Only one of these stations possesses any interest whatever apart from its connection with the railroad of which it is the terminus. The Fitchburg station is not only an imposing structure architecturally, but it is memorable as the scene of Jenny Lind's first appearance in Boston, in October, 1850. The Swedish songstress at that time gave two concerts in the great hall over the station, to audiences numbering more than four thousand each.[1]

The district of which State, Court, and Cambridge streets is the very crooked backbone, is by far the most interesting part of the town in its possession of memorials of the past. Some such monuments have been but recently removed. Upon all the old maps of Boston, up to about 1850, there was represented a row of buildings separating Court Street from Tremont Row. These buildings stretched from near the head of Tremont Street to Hanover Street. With one exception they were of wood, and at the Hanover Street end were very thin and narrow. About thirty years ago these latter were taken down, and "Scollay's Buildings" were changed from plural to singular. The last building of the row was removed about ten years ago, and the whole space was thrown open. Not one of the buildings possessed the slightest historical interest; but the removal of them has not only effected an important street improvement, but has left one of the most remarkable cases of confusion in street nomenclature which is anywhere to be found. The open space is known as Scollay Square, although it is in fact the most irregular of triangles. Two of the sides, and those two which form almost a right angle with each other, are in Court Street, and the third is Tremont Row. At the corner of Court and Tremont streets still stands the old building which was Washington's headquarters; but it is threatened[2] with early destruction. Another building, quite famous in its day, has but just disappeared. Joy's Building stood, until the present year, on the site of the second and third[3] houses of worship of the First Church. The land was sold to Benjamin Joy by the society of the church in 1808, and the building just taken down was then erected. It has been replaced by a handsome marble structure. The church in Brattle Square, dedicated in 1773, was sold and demolished in 1871. The society removed to a fine new structure on Commonwealth Avenue; but that building has now been sold, and the society is extinct. The Old State House, crowned with a mansard roof,

[1] Mr. Barnum paid Jenny Lind $1,000 for each concert. His agent sold a thousand more tickets to the second concert than could be accommodated in the hall, and was obliged to refund the money next day to the unfortunate holders who were excluded. But although the doors were shut on so many ticket holders, the hall was densely crowded, many ladies fainted, and at one time there was serious danger of a panic. The wonderful notes of the singer, however, had a magical effect in restoring order and quiet.

[2] We may, however, remark that it is not threatened for the first time. In 1841 the Legislature incorporated the Columbian Hotel Company, the projectors of which contemplated the erection of a tavern on this site; but, as the *Boston Almanac* for 1842 remarked, "no preparations are yet discoverable for erecting an edifice."

[3] [This is shown in Vol. II. p. 219. — Ed.]

still stands, in its conglomerate architecture, a type of the present and the past. Lager beer is dispensed from one end of the basement, while at the other end are telegraph and despatch offices. Above, where once assembled the fathers of the State and the wisdom of the city, the dusty old rooms are occupied by lawyers, insurance agents, and architects. A determined effort was made during the present year to remove the building, but it failed.[1]

The Old South Church still stands, after many vicissitudes and dangers, but has been wholly diverted from its original use. Up to the time of the great fire of 1872 it was used by the society for purposes of worship; but at that time, after a most heated controversy both within and without the church, it was leased to the United States government, and converted into a post-office until the new building on Devonshire Street was ready for occupation. After being almost miraculously saved from destruction by fire, it was "desecrated" by being devoted to the mail service. On its being surrendered by the Government, there was a revival of the old project of selling the church to be taken down. The sentimental spirit was, however, so strong in the descendants of the Revolutionary fathers that it was rescued. Funds were raised in various ways, the building was purchased by an association, to be preserved; and since that time it has been open to strangers, on the payment of a small fee. The interior has been converted into a sort of museum of New England antiquities.[2]

State Street is now, as it has been for a long time, the financial centre of the city. In 1837 there were thirty-five banks in Boston, of which twenty-two were located on this street. The proportion is not much smaller to-day; but State Street is much less than it was once the meeting-place of merchants. The Exchange Coffee-house was erected with the idea of its becoming a headquarters for business. The first building of this name was erected about the beginning of the present century. It was an immense speculation, which was floated for a time by means of the issue of worthless bills by a Rhode Island bank. Having cost the projectors and the public about half a million dollars, disaster overtook the enterprise; but it was ultimately finished.[3] Hardly, however, had the final alterations been made, when the great structure was destroyed by fire, in 1818.[4] Another hotel bearing the same name, but neither so large nor so pretentious, was put up

[1] [See p. 11 of the present volume for a note on the different views of this building. — Ed.]

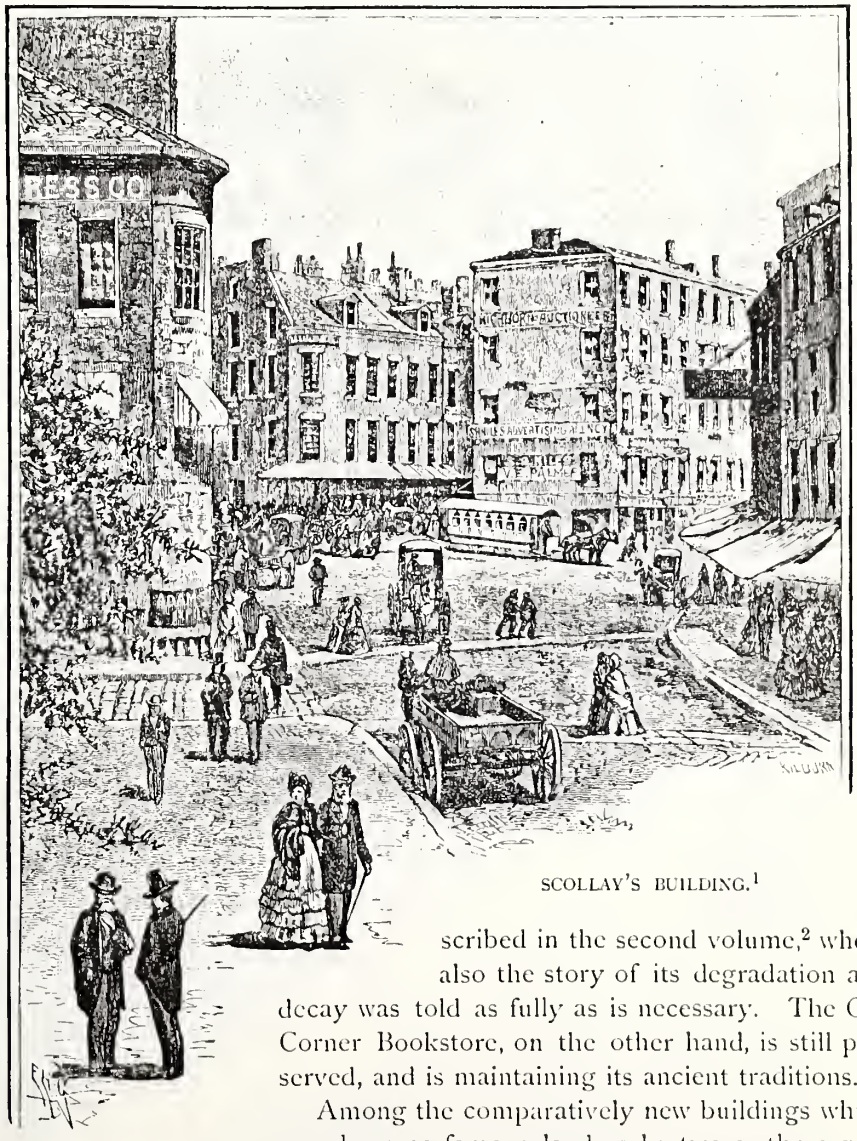
[2] [See view in Vol. II. p. 515. — Ed.]

[3] When opened for business it was much the largest public house in the country. It covered an irregular tract of ground measuring 12,753 square feet, and was seven stories in height. It was highly ornamented, but not with good taste, on the exterior, and within was spacious and elegant. There were a great hall for the meetings of merchants, a dining-room capable of seating three hundred persons, a great ball-room, and a Masonic hall above.

[4] November 3. Its end was not without significance to those who believed in retribution upon inanimate things for the wrong doing of sentient persons. One of them remarked after the fire that the building "was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, but it is now purified by fire." Captain Hull made the Coffee-house his headquarters when he was at Boston during the war of 1812, and President Monroe was entertained here at a public dinner in 1817. Business appointments with strangers were usually made at this house, which was also the terminus of most of the stage-coach lines.

on the same site, and stood until 1853, when it was taken down. The glory of the latter house was not equal to that of the former.

Another building, the Province House, which bore a famous part in the history of Boston for a much longer time than the Coffee-house, was de-



SCOLLAY'S BUILDING.[1]

scribed in the second volume,[2] where also the story of its degradation and decay was told as fully as is necessary. The Old Corner Bookstore, on the other hand, is still preserved, and is maintaining its ancient traditions.[3]

Among the comparatively new buildings which may become famous landmarks two or three generations hence, there are several which deserve mention. The new Post Office is the largest of these, and the most costly public building in New England.[4] The corner-stone was laid in 1871, President Grant being present

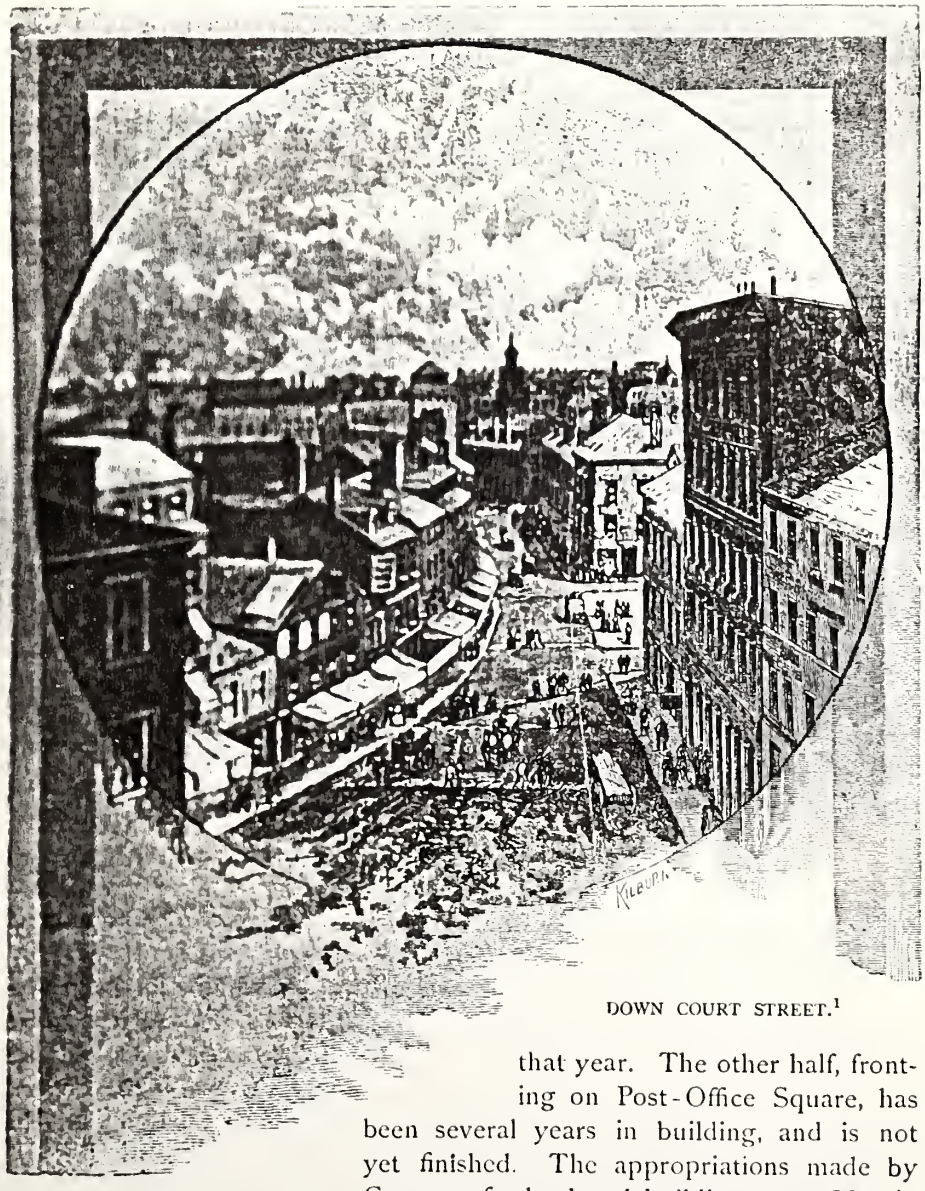
[1] [This view is taken from in front of the Court House on Court Street. Scollay's Building is beyond the horse-car. — ED.]

[2] [See view in Vol. II. p. 89. — ED.]

[3] [Ibid., p. 505. — ED.]

[4] [It stands on the original shore line. — ED.]

on the occasion, which was made one of great parade; but at that time the walls of the first story were already completed. The Devonshire Street half of the building was completed in 1874, and occupied on December 19 of



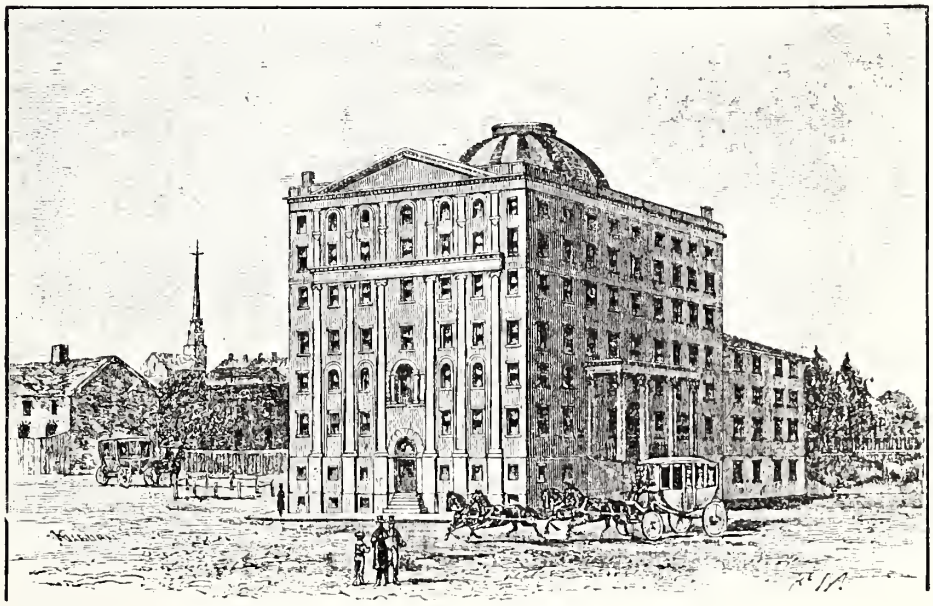
DOWN COURT STREET.[1]

that year. The other half, fronting on Post-Office Square, has been several years in building, and is not yet finished. The appropriations made by Congress for land and building up to March, 1880, have amounted to but little less than six million dollars. The post-office has been a migratory institution. The present building is the

[1] [This view is down Court Street from near Scollay's Building, seen on the left. The tall building on the near right is occupied by the Adams Express Company, and marks the site of the Brattle Square Church parsonage. The Old State House is in the middle distance. — ED.]

first ever occupied by the department in Boston which was owned by the Government. At times there have been hot controversies over the location, — one of which was occasioned by the removal of the office by the postmaster to Summer Street. For eleven years before the fire of 1872 it was in the Merchants' Exchange building in State Street, then for a short time in Faneuil Hall, then in the Old South meeting-house, and finally in the present structure.

The Custom House was authorized by Congress in 1835; the building was begun in 1837, and it was occupied in 1848. The exterior, even to the



EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE; DESTROYED IN 1818.[1]

roof, is of granite.[2] The building is in the pure Doric style of architecture, and cost more than a million dollars.

Two of the oldest places of public amusement are within this district, — the Museum and the Howard Athenæum. The former of these has had a history almost unique in the theatrical history of the country. It has continued for more than forty years to be the property and under the general management of one of its original owners. Mr. Moses Kimball opened the Museum at the corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets in 1841. So great was the success of the venture that in 1846 the present Museum building

[1] [This follows a cut in Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 330. There is in the Public Library a view looking up State Street, painted by Salmon in November, 1832. It represents the old State House on fire, with the fire department of that period at work. — ED.]

[2] It is said that there is about as much granite, cubic contents, in the Custom House, as in Bunker Hill Monument. The work was done in the most solid and substantial manner, no less than three years being devoted to the matter of securing a proper foundation

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was erected and occupied, and Mr. Kimball is still, as he has been for many years, the sole owner, having previously been the chief proprietor.[1]

Let us pass now to the adjoining district, which embraces Beacon Hill, the Common, and the surrounding territory. Upon this area stands no building that was erected one hundred years ago. The last to disappear was the old Hancock mansion on Beacon Street, of which an account has already been given in another place.[2]

But, in spite of the fact that all the buildings in this district are comparatively modern, pages of interesting sketches of famous houses, and of the people who have lived in them, might be written. This is particularly true of the houses on Beacon and Park streets, where have resided, for three quarters of a century, many of the men and women who have been leaders in the social and literary life of Boston, and the great merchants and capitalists whose acts have stood for the enterprise of the town, — but it is impossible to give the details here. Among the most conspicuous are the building at the corner of Beacon and Somerset streets, built by David Hinckley about sixty-five years ago, which was at the time the finest dwelling-house in Boston, and which, having been occupied by many distinguished persons, fell into the hands of the Somerset Club, and finally of the Congregational Association;[3] the building at the corner of Park and Beacon streets, described elsewhere;[4] the present Somerset Club-house, erected by David Sears; and the building next west, where lived and died Harrison Gray Otis.

Of more modern and more public buildings, that of the Boston Athenæum deserves the first notice. The Athenæum was incorporated in 1807, and at first occupied quarters in Congress Street; it received from Mr. James Perkins, in 1821, a gift of his new house in Pearl Street, and removed thither, where it remained until the present building, begun in 1847, was occupied in 1849.[5] The Music Hall, which is a landmark, although only a glimpse of a part of its exterior can be had, was built by an association, and opened in 1852; it contains one of the finest organs in the country.[6] The Tremont Temple occupies the site of the old Tremont Theatre, and contains one of the largest halls in the city; it was burned in 1879, but has been rebuilt and improved. Horticultural Hall, architecturally one of the ornaments of Tremont Street, was built and is owned by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.[7]

[1] This is not the only remarkable fact in its history. Mr. William Warren became a member of the company during the second season of the theatre, and with the exception of one year has been so ever since. The veteran actor is still as capable of delighting the lovers of the drama as ever, and his perennial youth is occasionally demonstrated by his assumption of the part of "Tony Lumpkin." Another veteran, Mr. R. M. Field, the manager, has nearly completed a score of years in that capacity. [See Colonel Clapp's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. xlv. — Ed.]

[4] [See a view of it, with description, in Mr. Bugbee's chapter on "Boston under the Mayors," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[5] [See the chapter on "Libraries" in this volume. — Ed.]

[6] [See Mr. Dwight's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[7] [See Colonel Wilder's chapter on "The Horticulture of Boston and Vicinity," in this volume. — Ed.]

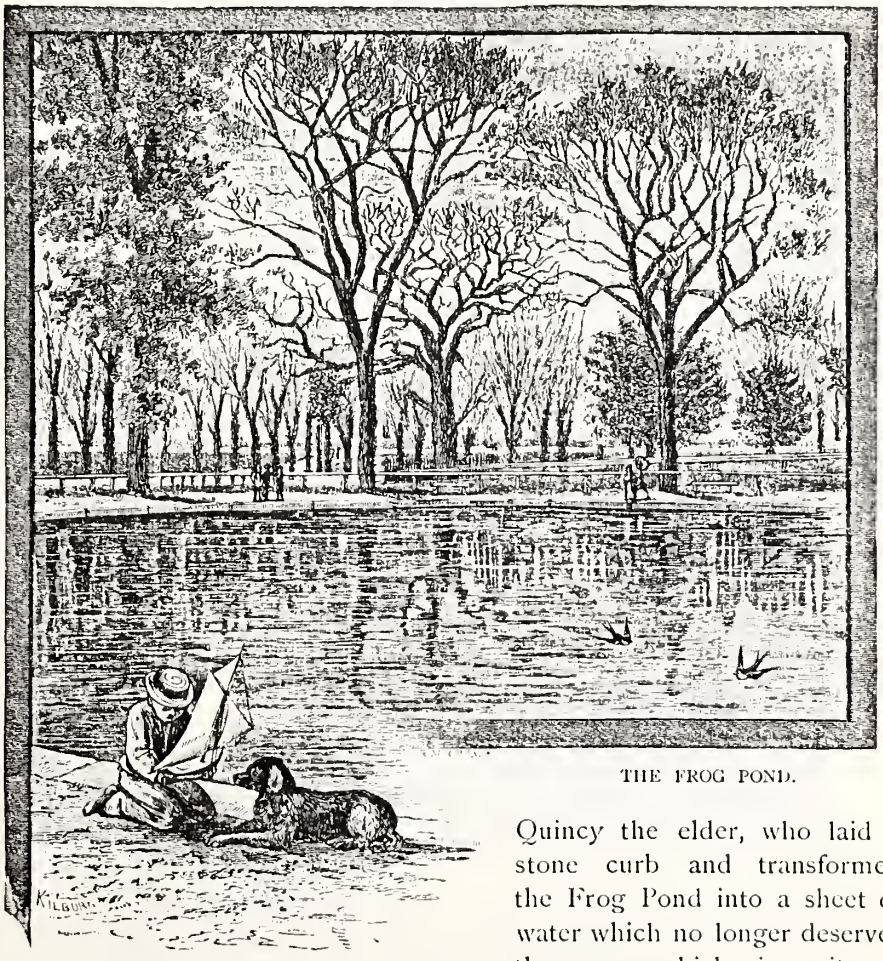
The Common is, in many respects, a more interesting landmark than any one of the buildings in this district. This park, which is so well-known a feature of Boston, has been shorn of its proper dimensions in one direction, since it originally extended to the line of Beacon Street from Charles to Tremont Street; but at the other end it has been enlarged. A field south

THE TREMONT STREET MALL.

of the Common was bought by the town in 1794 and added to it, and the mall was then extended to Boylston Street. Charles Street, laid out at the beginning of this century, cut off a small piece which now forms a part of the Public Garden. No material change in the dimensions of the Common has taken place for about eighty years. Until 1830[1] the original use of the tract as a common grazing

[1] [When the elder Quincy became mayor in 1823, he found one man keeping thirteen cows on the Common and selling the milk. The mayor caused every cow to bear a label with the owner's

ground for cattle was continued; but long before that the malls on Park[1] and Beacon streets had been laid out by direction of the town. This improvement, which was made in 1815, was carried out partly with the proceeds of the fund raised a few years before for the defence of the town. Further important improvements were made in 1823–24 under Mayor



THE FROG POND.

Quincy the elder, who laid a stone curb and transformed the Frog Pond into a sheet of water which no longer deserves the name which, in spite of official action to the contrary, still clings to it. In 1836 the old wooden fence which formerly surrounded the Common was removed, and an iron fence placed around the enclosure, the owners of neighboring estates paying a part of the cost. The subsequent changes have been for the most part the work of landscape gardeners of the elected sort, — men who think

name on it. The pound for stray cattle was on the Common, near the junction of Charles and Boylston streets. See Lowell's description of Boston in Mayor Quincy's time, in *My Study Windows*, p. 95. There are views of the Common of about this date in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, 1829; and in his *New Guide to Boston*, 1830. — Ed.]

[1] [Park Street, previously known as Centry Street, first appeared as Park Street on the Directory-map of 1789. See the "Introduction" to Vol. III. — Ed.]

inequalities of surface are to be removed, who enjoy a straight path more than a crooked one, who regard black asphalt as an appropriate material for a park walk, who like to line paths with fence rails painted green, who make trees picturesque by sawing off the limbs in such a way as to make the mutilation most conspicuous. Notwithstanding all this, the Common was too beautiful to be spoiled by years of official disfigurement. But the grand

INTERSECTION OF WASHINGTON, WINTER, AND SUMMER STREETS.[1]

Old Elm[2] has succumbed to old age, and the vigorous plant which stands where the ancient tree stood so long must see a century more of growth before it can be an acceptable substitute.

Paddock's Elms, too, in whose grateful shade have waited hundreds of thousands of intending patrons of the horse-cars, are gone. They were watched over in their extreme youth by Adino Paddock, who planted them, and who darted out from his shop opposite to shake a boy who had shaken one of them. In their full vigor, they fell under the displeasure of city foresters who cherish the theory that trees need no moisture for their roots.

[1] [This cut follows a water-color owned by Mrs. S. H. Swan, of Cambridge, representing the scene about 1843, and by her kind permission is here reproduced. Another reproduction of the same original is owned by Mrs. E. S. Dixwell. — ED.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 21 of the chapter on "The Flora of Boston," by Dr. Asa Gray. — ED.]

Branches which spread too far were chopped off remorselessly, and when at last the entire removal of the once magnificent row of trees was demanded in the name of progress, the amputated stumps were unable to plead for themselves to be spared longer.[1]

The landmarks in other parts of the city, including the annexed districts, call for no special mention in this place, as all the more important features are noticed in this and other volumes. The changes in the topographical character of old Boston have been so important in the last one hundred years, that all the other changes are made insignificant in comparison. By them have been brought about two distinct migrations of population. A century ago the society of Boston was to be found at the North End, and upon and near Beacon Hill. The tendency at that time was toward the Fort Hill and Pearl Street district. Summer, Franklin, High, and neighboring streets became lined with fine residences, surrounded by neat lawns and flower-gardens. When business threatened to dispossess the dwellers in this district of their pleasant homes, there was some question whither they should remove, and where was to be the great residence-district of the city. Some people predicted that South Boston would become the fashionable quarter of the town;[2] but about that time the creation of the South End, by widening the Neck, diverted population thither, and the movement was hastened by the introduction of the horse-railroad system.[3] For fifteen years after 1855 the South End was the growing part of the city. Meanwhile the fashionable quarter, so-called, had been extending down Beacon Street, and broadening over the district lying west of the Public Garden. As the filling proceeded, the land in this part of the city became the most desirable as well as the most available; and it has been covered with buildings of a class which would do credit to any city in the world.[4] The

[1] [It was under these trees, in the early years of this century, that the hay-market was kept; and when it was removed to Charles Street (laid out in 1803), near the pound, the wood-market took its place along the front of the Granary Burying-ground. — Ed.]

[2] See an article in the *Boston Almanac* for 1853, by Dr. J. V. C. Smith, in which the writer urged the filling of the South Boston flats as a measure of which Nature had given a strong hint in the manner in which the flats had been formed. He also prophesied that South Boston was destined to become the magnificent portion of the city, in respect to costly residences, fashionable society, and the influences of wealth.

[3] Soon after the introduction of horse-railroads in New York, efforts were begun to establish the new mode of rapid transit in Boston. In 1852 a petition for a charter was presented to the Legislature, and more than three thousand persons signed petitions in aid of it. The first company, the Metropolitan, was not, however, chartered until May 21, 1853. A few days later the Cambridge Horse-Railroad Company was chartered. The Broadway, Dorchester Avenue, and Chelsea companies were created in 1854. The construction of each and all the lines authorized was made dependent upon the consent of the municipal authorities through whose streets they were to be laid. Strong opposition was made by the omnibus companies. The Cambridge company was the first to overcome the difficulty, which it did by buying the omnibus franchises, and the line to Cambridge was built and opened in 1856. The Dorchester Avenue line was opened in October, 1856; and the first Metropolitan line, from the Granary Burying-ground to the Guildhall in Roxbury, was finished a little later in the same month. All these lines were immediately successful.

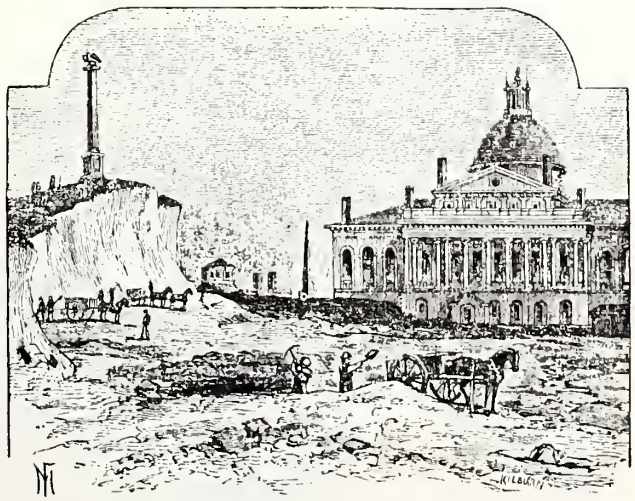
[4] Quite different from those which were built between 1840 and 1870. The "swell-front" abomination was then in full control of all the architects, as the mansard-roof affectation was a few years later in the suburban towns. Dr. Smith, in the article in the *Boston Almanac* for 1853, already referred to, discusses the prevailing style of architecture with characteristic vigor.

movement is, however, both in location and in style of building, of quite recent origin. In 1870 there were not many buildings west of Dartmouth Street, and the area between that street and the Public Garden was by no means fully built upon. The future movement must inevitably be in the same direction, and one need look forward but a few years to reach the time when the new Back Bay Park will be surrounded by elegant and costly dwelling-houses and churches.

Edward Lamwood

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

A series of five views of Beacon Hill, of which three are herewith given considerably reduced, were drawn about 1811–12 by Mr. J. R. Smith, an artist who had come to America about 1808. They are valuable memoranda of the condition of the summit of the hill just before the final disappearance of it. The original sketches (now in the Public Library) are slight and scant in detail; but under the skilful hand of Mr. G. G. Smith they were turned into attractive pictures in chromolithograph, which, being issued in 1855, under the title of "Old Boston," are thought to have been the first drawings reproduced by that art in Boston. They are given by heliotype, but much decreased in size, in Wheildon's *Sentry Hill*, 1877. The new State House, which is so conspicuous an object in them, was taken possession of Jan. 11, 1798, the Government, in the Representatives' Chamber, listening to the Rev. Dr. Thacher's prayer of dedication.



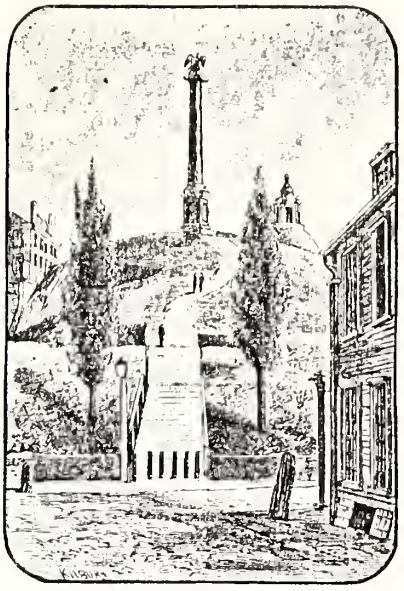
STATE HOUSE AND THE MONUMENT.

The Thurston House, shown in one of them, was not long after taken down, and, as rebuilt, is now No. 1 Beacon Hill Place. See an account of this house in W. W. Wheildon's *Sentry Hill*, p. 94.

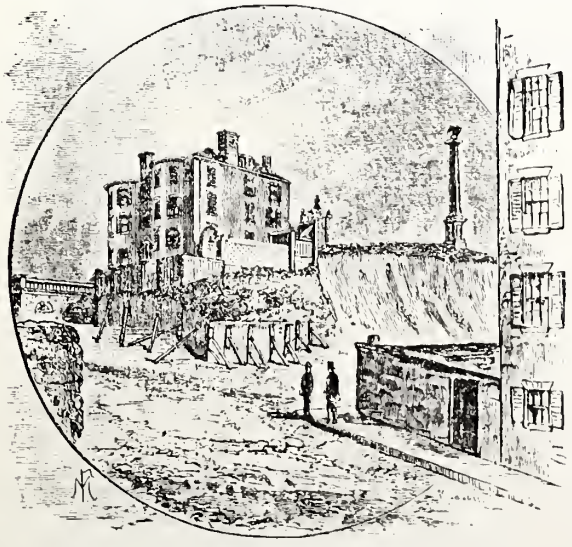
A near view of the column, said to follow a painting by Sully, is given in Dennie's *Portfolio*, November, 1811, and has been reproduced in Wheildon's *Sentry Hill*, p. 65, and elsewhere.

It is claimed to have been the first monument ever erected to commemorate the war of the Revolution; but Mr. Wheildon could find no reference to it, during its building, in any of the public prints of the day. The *Massachusetts Magazine*, December, 1790, announces the completion of the brick-work, but says that the "white cement" will not be put on till Spring, when it will be topped "by an eagle of wood, gilt." Mr. Wheildon could not find any mention of the contributors to it, except of Mr. Thomas Russell.

The annexed reduced heliotype follows a water-color found by the late Andrew Ritchie in a shop in Paris, and now owned by his son, Colonel Harrison Ritchie. It represents the Common and neighborhood somewhere between 1804 — when the Amory House, seen and still standing on the corner of Beacon and Park streets, was erected (see view of Park Street, in Vol. III. p. 232.) — and 1811, when the monument seen over the stable of the Hancock House was taken down. The mansion of the first governor under the Constitution ranges in the line of the Capitol; and the trees in front of it are probably the ones referred to in a letter of Theodore Lyman, Sept. 25, 1815, when he writes about the great gale of that month to Edward Everett, his classmate, then in Germany: "How many lamentations has poor Madam Scott made over that beautiful row of elms opposite her house, which, with about fifteen of the largest trees in the mall, have been levelled." — *Memoir of Theodore Lyman, Jr*, p. 11; also see Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 321. The widow of Hancock had married one of Hancock's sea-captains, Captain James Scott, and was still living in the house.



THE MONUMENT, FROM THE CORNER OF TEMPLE AND DERNE STREETS.



THE MONUMENT AND THE THURSTON HOUSE, FROM BOWDOIN STREET.

The Editor is indebted to Miss E. S. Quincy for reminiscences of other houses seen in the picture. That on the extreme left was built by Mr. John Phillips in 1804-5, and long occupied by him. It is still standing, with the entrance changed to Walnut Street, which was cut through on its upper side, and the house is spoken of in a communication by Mr. Wendell Phillips, given in a note to Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. It was purchased in 1824, and greatly improved, by Lieut.-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop (father of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop), who died in it. The large house next on the right was built about 1805, by Thomas Perkins, and fronted on Mount Vernon Street. The block on that street, just west of Joy Street, now occupies its site. The garden is at this day covered by the houses with deep front yards, which are on the westerly side of Joy Street. The house with columns was built by Dr. Joy, with a garden in front of it. A traveller, a few years earlier (1792), had described this house: "The front is among the

neatest and most elegant I have seen. It is two stories high, overcast, and painted a kind of peach-bloom color, and adorned with semi-columns, fluted, of Corinthian order, the whole height of the edifice."—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1871, p. 61. This house was removed about 1835 and rebuilt at South Boston.

A view of the Common in 1817 is given in Shaw's *Description of Boston.*

The view of 1825, in Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 323, is without the trees before the Hancock house, and in the interim the single wooden fence bounding the Common had given place to parallel fences, skirting the mall without and within. The old single wooden fence was built about 1784, and it was so much injured in the 1815 gale that the new double fence was built, the one in the new mall, or Beacon Street mall, being built under Abraham Babcock's direction in 1820. Shurtleff, *Boston*, p. 317.

BOSTON FROM BREED'S HILL.

The shape of the hill, as seen from the north before its destruction had begun, is shown in the accompanying reproduction of "Boston from Breed's Hill," as given in the *Mass. Mag.*, June, 1791.

The view from the summit of Beacon Hill is given in the *Mass. Mag.*, November, 1790, showing the great elm on the Common, the Tremont Street mall, the south part of the town, the Back Bay, the Neck, with Dorchester Heights in the distance. It has been heliotyped in J. W. Hamilton's *Memorial of Jesse Lee and the Old Elm: 85th Anniversary of Jesse Lee's sermon under the Old Elm, Boston Common, held Sunday evening, July 11, 1875; With a Historical Sketch of the Great Tree.* Boston, 1875.

The annexed view of the Faneuil-Phillips house, which stood on the hill-slope opposite the King's Chapel burying-yard, follows a water-color by George L. Brown, painted in 1836, now in the rooms of the Boston Antiquarian Club. Another view of the same house, by Brown, painted in oil in 1835, is owned by John C. Phillips, Esq. A third view is given in Vol. II. p. 523. Mr. Phillips also owns a water-color of the Bromfield House, without name or date, of which another view has been given in Vol. II. p. 521.

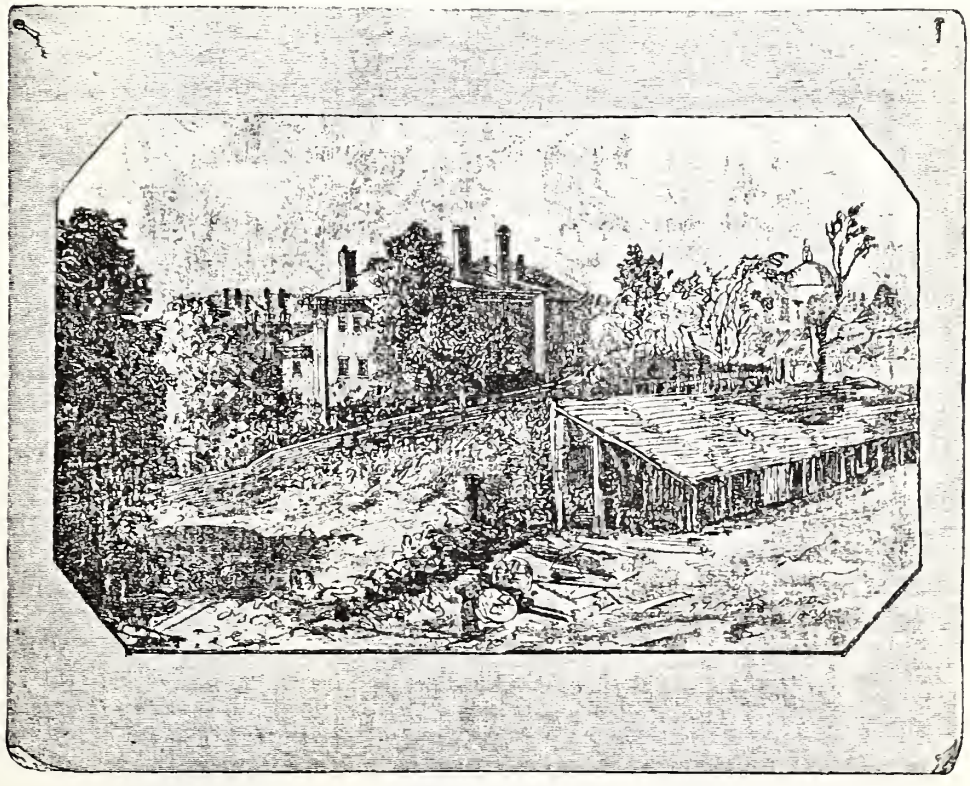
In the rear of the Faneuil-Phillips house, and approached up the declivity through a paved court and the garden, was a tall tower, which is shown in Hammett Billings's sketch of Quincy Market, given in Vol. III. p. 228. A similar view is in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, 1829. This tower was of brick, with three floors, reached by a staircase within, while the upper windows opened on a balcony. The Faneuil "grasshopper" surmounted the roof, which did not much overtop the neighboring summit of the Gardiner Greene garden, so much higher was the hill in that direction.

A view of the town and harbor from the hill in the rear of Mr. Greene's house, where Pemberton Square now is, but from a point seventy feet above the existing level of the hill-top, serves as a frontispiece to the present volume. It follows a large picture painted by Salmon in 1816, and owned by W. H. Whitmore. (*Gleaner Ar-*

ticles, p. 55.) There are better views of the Greene mansion than the frontispiece affords. One of them is in the mayor's office at the City Hall. The building was of wood, three stories in height, four large rooms on each floor, with an L. The wood-work of the drawing-rooms was elaborately carved, and in this respect it differed from the Faneuil house, which had plainer ornamentation. Mr. Greene had resided in Demerara for many years after 1774, and had

A southeast view of Boston is given in the *Mass. Mag.*, November, 1790.

The note-book of Robert Gilmor, in the Public Library, has a view of Boston from Dorchester Heights, taken not far from 1795. A view of Boston from the old fort in Roxbury, where is now the Cochituate stand-pipe, was painted by Thomas Cole in 1820. A view of Boston from Chelsea Hill is given in Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, and in his *Guide to Boston*.



THE FANEUIL-PHILLIPS HOUSE.

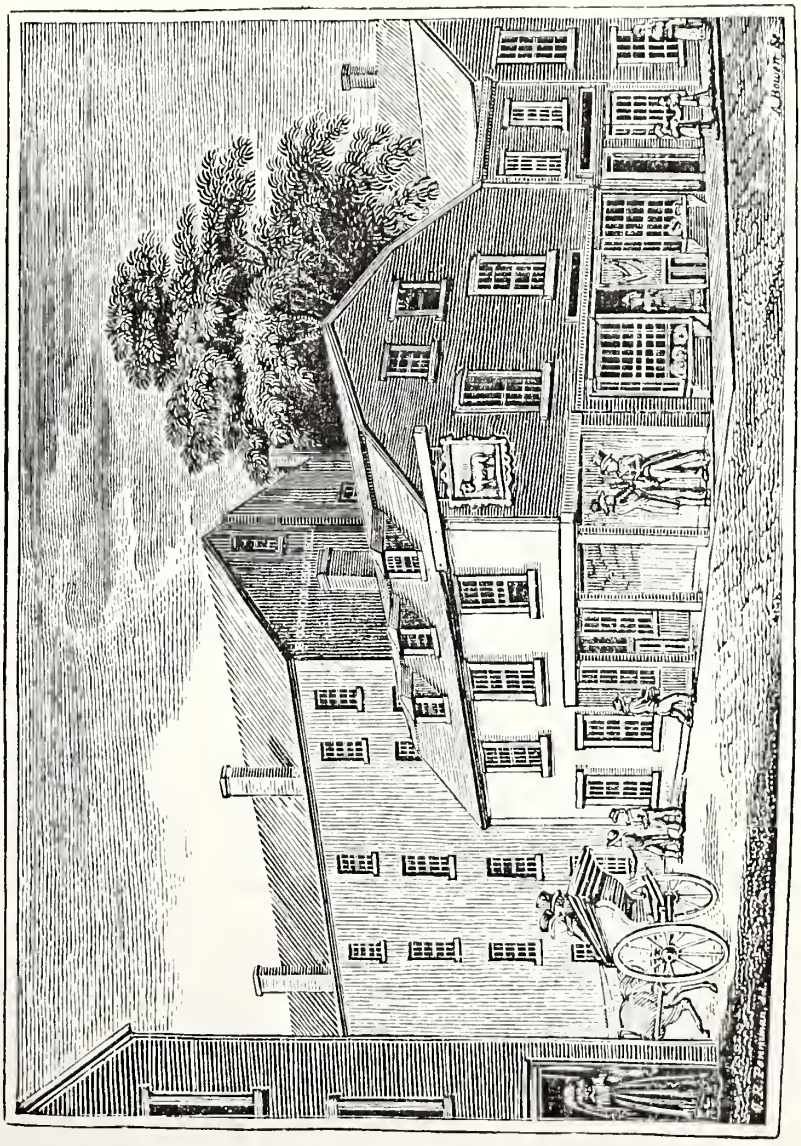
laid there the foundation of a large fortune. In 1785 he married Miss Ann Reading, who died in 1786. Two years later he visited Boston and married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Hubbard, who died in 1797. In July, 1800, while in London, he married Elizabeth Clarke, a daughter of Copley the painter, and soon took up his permanent residence in Boston, and here died, Dec. 19, 1832. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1873, p. 56.

The descent of this famous estate is traced in Vol. II., Introduction, p. xliv. In the rear of the house the visitor crossed a paved court and ascended the terraces to the two large trees which are seen in the view of Quincy Market in Vol. III., p. 228.

The engraving herewith given of the Lamb Tavern is from a block cut by Abel Bowen, the principal engraver on wood in Boston in the early part of the present century; and use of it has been kindly permitted by Mr. J. H. Daniels, who received it from Joseph Andrews, one of Bowen's pupils. Drake (*Landmarks*, p. 392) says the tavern is mentioned as early as 1746. (See Vol. II. p. xxiv.) The first stage-coach to Providence started from here in 1767. Its sign was struck by a shot from the American lines during the siege. Joel Crosby, who had served in the Revolutionary army, was later employed here as an hostler; and subsequently bought the estate, and kept the tavern successfully till about 1808. In 1822 the brick structure in the rear was added.

containing the dining-room, etc. At this time Laban Adams kept it, and continued to be the landlord till 1825. Drake says Edward Kingman was the landlord in 1826. After Crosby's death (1833) at Leominster, whither he had removed in 1808, the estate was sold to Laban Adams, who had returned to it in 1830, and who again kept it till 1838, when he leased it to Aaron W. Rockwood. In 1844 Adams again returned to it, but pulled it down in 1845, and opened the Adams House on the same spot in 1846.

The passage, up which the chaise is passing, led to the stables in the rear, and is probably a remnant of the earlier Hog Alley, which can be seen, leaving the main street obliquely (to the left of West Street), in Bonner's map, 1722, Vol. II. p. xxvii; in Burgiss's, 1728, Ibid. p. 1; in Price's, 1769, Ibid. p. lvi; in Page's, 1775, Vol. III. p. iii; but it disappeared before Carleton's map was made in 1797, given in the present chapter.



THE LAMB TAVERN.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDUSTRIES OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY CARROLL D. WRIGHT AND HORACE G. WADLIN.

Of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.

WHILE not so in popular estimation, Boston is, and always has been, a manufacturing centre. Her industries are as varied as those of the Commonwealth, and at the close of the period of which we write their annual product amounts in value to over one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Her influence since the first decade of her existence has been felt in all departments of productive industry throughout the State, and to such an extent that, considering the amount of the city's productive capital invested elsewhere, it is difficult to say what the value of Boston's products really is. Confining ourselves to the territory marked out as the subject of this history, we feel no hesitancy in defining Boston as a great industrial centre, the account of whose industries is the account for Massachusetts.

During the first generation after the landing at Plymouth the great industries which have built up the Massachusetts of our time, in a material sense, were established on quite secure footing. Ship-building, the manufacture of textiles, boots, shoes, and leather, printing, brick and glass-making, and iron-working, — industries which to-day include one half the entire products of the State, — were recognized industries before 1650. In all these, after her settlement, Boston's influence is clearly seen; in fact, it was not till after 1630 that these enterprises possessed the vitality essential to permanency. This influence is well illustrated by the fact that Boston merchants within ten years after her settlement exported shoes manufactured in Lynn. This influence has been retained, and may be said to be stronger now than at any previous period.

Although many of the leading industries of Massachusetts had been established immediately after its settlement, yet prior to the Revolution very little progress had been made toward placing these industries on a self-sustaining basis, so that they might become a source of wealth to the Province and afford employment to a considerable number of her citizens. Indeed, before and at the beginning of the struggle of the colonies with the mother country the chief reliance of Massachusetts for supplying the wants

of her families was placed upon the household industries;" and the Legislature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay was in the habit of extending aid and encouragement to all who sought to develop industrial enterprises. An interesting instance in this connection was the patriotic attempt to plant the linen manufacture in 1754, when a law was passed granting a duty to be levied upon carriages of all kinds for the benefit of the proprietors or managers of the linen manufacture in Boston, to aid them in purchasing a piece of land and erecting or purchasing a suitable house within the town for carrying on the business of spinning, weaving, and other necessary parts of the linen manufacture.[1] The preamble to this law set forth that —

"Whereas, through the great decay of trade and business, the number of poor is greatly increased, and the burden of supporting them lies heavy on many of the towns within this Province, and many persons, especially women and children, are destitute of employment, and in danger of becoming a public charge; *and whereas* divers well-disposed persons have contributed and continue to contribute sums of money to encourage setting the poor to work in the several branches of the linen manufacture, . . . Therefore, further to encourage the laudable design of the several contributors as aforesaid, Be it enacted," etc.

Under this law[2] the building called the "Manufactory House" in Long-Acre Street was erected. The manufacture of linen was begun here, but with a spirit too violent to secure permanent success.[3] "Great show and parade were exhibited on the Common at its commencement. Spinning-wheels were then the hobby-horses of the publick. The females of the town, rich and poor, appeared on the Common with their wheels, and vied with each other in the dexterity of using them." The enterprise lasted but three or four years, the Manufactory House being used for a short time after the close of the linen works for the manufacture of worsted hose, metal buttons, etc.[4]

The growth of colonial manufactures was not regarded with favor by England, and the home Government steadily discountenanced any attempt to build up such industries here as would tend to render the colonists either independent of home manufactures or competitors with the parent country for foreign trade. It was, indeed, the settled policy of every European power to restrict the trade and commerce of its colonies to the parent country. In this policy England shared so far as to monopolize to herself the raw materials of the American colonies and the carrying trade dependent upon the produce of those colonies, and herself to furnish her colonists with all the manufactured articles or other imports necessary for their consumption. It was held in certain quarters that the only use and advantage of these colonies was the stimulation of the industries and commerce of the

[1] *Province Laws*, vol. iii. p. 680.

[2] [See Vol. II. pp. 322, 461, 511. — Ed.]

[3] *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iii. 252.

[4] The building was later occupied by the Massachusetts Bank for a time, but it finally became the residence of private families. There was for many years portrayed upon the wall on the west end of the building a female figure holding a distaff in her hand, emblematical of industry. [See Vol. II. pp. xxvi, 511. — Ed.]

parent country arising from the monopoly of their consumption and carrying trade. Before the Revolution the export trade of the colonies was, in accordance with this policy, limited to Great Britain, except in the case of some articles which were permitted to be exported to certain designated parts of Europe, Africa, and the West Indies. The permitted trade with the West Indies was always highly advantageous to the colonies, and especially so to New England, but was mainly confined to agricultural products, and to rum, fish, and lumber.

The influence of the policy above indicated, as well as the high price and scarcity of labor, operated to prevent the establishment of any considerable manufacturing industries in the American colonies until the colonists had advanced somewhat in population and wealth. The New-England colonies, however, from the nature of the charters under which they were established, were always more or less independent of the commercial restrictions imposed by Great Britain; and this fact, together with the gradual growth not only here, but in other colonies, of certain industries, as early as the year 1731 caused the increasing export trade of her American provinces to be viewed with no little jealousy by the mother country.

In Massachusetts especially the manufacture of paper had begun at that date, and complaints were made to the Board of Trade and Plantations of the House of Commons that, "In Massachusetts an act was made to encourage the manufacture of paper, which law interferes with the profit made by the British merchants on foreign paper sent thither."[1] The first paper-mill in Massachusetts, and it is believed in the United States, had been established a year or two previous at Milton on the Neponset River, almost within the limits of the present city of Boston.[2]

In New England, also, woollen and linen cloth and a sort of coarse hemp cloth was at this time made, as well as leather, hats, and iron work; but as the price of labor was exceedingly high, our merchants found it to their advantage to deal in imported goods rather than those of home manufacture. The increase of ship-building here,[3] an accompaniment of our growing commerce, was considered especially prejudicial to the interests of the mother country. Parliament soon found it necessary to place further restrictions on our industries; as for instance, "to prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel in any . . . colonies."[4] Previously,[5] an act restrictive of the hat-making industry had been passed. While thus attempting to check the growth of colonial manufacturing industries by direct restrictive measures, the same object was kept in view by acts favoring the exportation of raw material to be made up in England.

[1] Pitkin's *Statistics*, p. 5.

[2] Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, vol. i. p. 197. [See Vol. II. of this History, p. 462, *note*. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vols. I. p. 497–498, and II. 443–447. — Ed.]

[4] 1750. 23 Geo. II.

[5] 1732. 5 Ge . II.

But, although contrary to its purpose, the course of Parliament was soon to give a decided impetus to colonial manufactures. The year 1767 witnessed the famous duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, painters' colors, and tea. In thus striving to replenish its treasury, Parliament, without intending it, did the one thing necessary to the progress of our industries. The system of taxation of which these duties were a part was, as is well known, violently opposed by the colonists; and this opposition was manifested by an outspoken determination to use only the products of home industry, and thus avoid the unjust burden which it was felt Great Britain was seeking to lay upon her colonists in America. The merchants of Boston met in council and determined to encourage home manufactures, especially those of glass and paper.[1]

Notwithstanding the adverse policy of the English government, several industries were already established in the town, and these were fostered by the prevailing state of public opinion now actively aroused in favor of such industries as should render Massachusetts independent of parliamentary restrictions and the arbitrary duties laid upon the necessary articles of consumption. It had long since been discovered that we could readily and cheaply produce some of these articles of a quality in no respect inferior to those sent us from abroad. Prominent among these, and rendered especially so by this act of 1767, was paper. The Milton mill, already referred to, had made paper to the amount of £200 sterling during the early years of its establishment;[2] and though carried on with varying fortunes, the industry had never been allowed to decay. The lack of paper stock was the chief difficulty encountered. The people were now admonished to save their rags with care; and in Boston in 1769 the following announcement was made in the *News-Letter:* "The bell cart will go through the town before the end of next month to collect rags for the paper mill at Milton, when all people that will encourage the paper manufactory may dispose of them." Glass had early been made in Massachusetts, but the industry lacked that vitality which encouraged the manufacture of paper.[3]

The difficulties which existed between England and her colonies were soon to culminate in war. Up to this time the growth of the industries of Boston had in no wise exceeded those of the other Massachusetts towns. It was not as an industrial community, but chiefly as a thriving seaport that the place was known. Among her industries at this time was the manufacture of pot and pearl ashes, though this had greatly declined owing to the increasing scarcity of wood.[4] Rope-making then, and until long afterward, was a leading industry of the town.[5] Brewing, established as early as 1637,

[1] Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, vol. i. p. 202. [See Vol. II. ch. i. — Ed.]

[2] *Report to Board of Trade of Parliament*, 1731.

[3] [See Vol. II. p. 461. — Ed.]

[4] Bishop; also *Mass. Hist. Coll.* [There is in the *Massachusetts Archives* a petition of William Frobisher in 1768, setting forth his discovery of a new method of making potash. — Ed.]

William Frobisher

[5] [See Vol. I. p. 499; and II. xl, xli, xlvii, xlviii, 322, 443, 528. — Ed.]

was still carried on.[1] The distilling of New-England rum gave employment to numbers.[2] In 1770 the making of morocco was begun at Charlestown.[3]

Printing and book-binding of great excellence were executed at several establishments. Out of ninety-two booksellers in the town prior to the Revolution, over thirty had made the binding and making of books a part of their business.[4] A type-foundry was established in 1768, not destined, however, to succeed permanently.[5] Ship-building to some extent formed one of the industries of the town, and the making of hats was carried on to a limited extent. Many excellent carpenters and masons were in the place, and blacksmiths and other representatives of the common trades were residing there. During the war the foundation of the butchering industry at Brighton was laid by the establishment of a cattle fair.[6]

One of the leading measures of the Continental Congress of 1774 was the agreement looking to non-importation and non-exportation. It was now resolved actively to promote the manufactures of the country, especially those of woollen fabrics. One of the first aims of the colonists was to establish their entire independence of the productive industries of England by the immediate establishment and maintenance of such industries here.[7] The non-importation resolves and the war itself, by throwing the colonists upon their own resources, were to lay the foundation of American manufactures. During the war, while some industries failed owing to the scarcity and high price of labor, others — and especially those whose products were required by the necessities of the war — made great progress, while the household industries were uniformly extended and enlarged.

1780–1790. The general condition, therefore, of the industries of Boston at the beginning of the period of one hundred years just closed, was that of apparent prosperity. The war was still in progress; its results not foreseen except in the faith of the patriots who carried it on. The influence of this want of certainty induced a feverish state in all business circles, and prevented that solidity in industrial affairs which at a later period characterized the enterprises of Boston merchants and manufacturers. At this period the products of manufacture in the territory now constituting Boston, from the best estimates we have been able to make, must have amounted to between three and four million dollars per annum.

After the peace the protection afforded by the war having ceased, a reaction took place. Many undertakings were of an ephemeral nature, and the close of the war put an end to their existence. The heavy debt incurred by the colonies, the lack of a definite and sound financial system, and the flooding

[1] Bishop, *History of American Manufactures.*

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 447. — Ed.]

[3] Bishop, vol. i. p. 459.

[4] Ibid., vol. i. p. 191. [See Mr. Winsor's chapter in Vol. I. p. 453, and Mr. Goddard's, in Vol. II. p. 387. — Ed.]

[5] Ibid., vol. i. p. 213.

[6] Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, p. 248. [See Vol. II. p. 372, and Mr. Drake's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[7] Edward Everett, *Address on American Manufactures*; New York, 1831. [See also chapters i. and iv. of Vol. III. of this History. — Ed.]

of our markets with immense importations of English goods, — all rendered the outlook extremely discouraging for American manufacturers. An era of hard times ensued; and one of the chief questions which the citizens of the young Republic were called upon to face was the industrial problem.[1] How to maintain our industries already established, and to extend them so as thoroughly to secure that independence of England which, though sanctioned by treaty, was yet seen to be only partially accomplished, — this was one of the absorbing questions of the time. The decay of business — general throughout the country — was exceedingly distressing to the industrious mechanics of Boston;[2] and the *Boston Gazette* but voiced the general sentiment of the day when it said, early in 1788 :[3] —

"Until we manufacture more it is absurd to celebrate the Fourth of July as the birth-day of our independence. We are still a dependent people; and what is worse, after the blood and treasure we have expended, we are actually taxed by Great Britain. Our imports help to fill her revenue and to pay the interest of a debt contracted in an attempt to enslave us."

Arguments such as this began to have their effect. Slowly but surely the industries of the country revived, and those of Boston were not behind. Prior to this, even as early as 1784, the manufacturers of Boston petitioned the General Court for legislation protecting their products. Under the Articles of Confederation which governed Congress prior to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, the States in their individual capacity regulated commerce; or rather the power to do this was in them alone. The Articles did not confer such power upon Congress, a defect which was remedied by the new Constitution; but before that, each State made such regulations as its own interests seemed to require, without regard to the influence of its action upon its neighbors. "The States through whose ports the natural or artificial channels of trade principally passed, were able to exact a revenue from those which were less favorably situated for commercial purposes." It was on account of the difficulties and irritations growing out of these commercial regulations that a convention of commissioners from various States was held at Annapolis in September, 1786, which convention recommended the one that framed the present Constitution.[4] The agitation which secured these results was set in motion by appeals from the manufacturers from Boston and vicinity to manufacturers and merchants in the different States.

Governor Bowdoin had on several occasions insisted upon the necessity of *a general union of the colonies, with the power of regulating trade.* In 1785, in his first address to the General Court, Governor Bowdoin called attention to the extravagant importation and use of foreign goods, and urged legislation which should encourage our own manufactures. The

[1] [There are some notes on the conditions of manufactures after the peace of 1782 in Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii. 196. — Ed.]

[2] *Boston Gazette*, April, 1788.

[3] Ibid., January, 1788.

[4] Andrews, *Manual of the Constitution*, p. 89.

necessity of regulating the trade of the United States, with a view to counteracting the restrictive policy of Great Britain, and of protecting the industry and labor of our own people, was urged by him on every occasion.[1] It is not too much to say that to Governor Bowdoin and the manufacturers of Boston belongs the credit of being the first to take into consideration the expediency of calling a convention of delegates from all the States, for the purpose of deliberating upon the state of trade and manufactures; this convention grew out of the industrial interests of Boston, and out of this convention grew the one which framed the new Constitution.

In consequence of the petitions to the General Court, within a year or two of the close of the war various laws were passed imposing a tax upon certain imported articles of manufacture; these laws were consolidated and amended by extending the list, by an act passed July 2, 1785, by which an impost duty was laid upon most of the articles manufactured in Boston and vicinity.[2]

In 1788, manufacturing having revived but slightly, the patriotism of the people was put to new tests. The new Constitution had been submitted to the States, and it contained ample provisions for the regulation of commerce by Congress. At this time the manufacturers of Boston issued the following circular,[3] which so clearly illustrates the spirit of the times relative to the industries of the country and of the influence of Boston, that it is given in full: —

Boston, August 20, 1788.

Gentlemen, —

We, being appointed by the association of tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston to write to our brethren throughout the several States, do now address you on the very important and interesting subject of our own manufactures.

The late system of commerce, pursued since the peace, of importing such articles as can be manufactured among ourselves, tends to discourage the whole body of tradesmen and manufacturers of these States, who depend, for the support of themselves and families, on their various occupations; and this practice, unless speedily checked by the prudent exertions of those who are more particularly interested, must eventually prove ruinous to every mechanical branch in America.

[1] R. C. Winthrop's *Addresses and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 119.

[2] The following is the list, and shows the kinds of goods manufactured in and around Boston in 1785: —

Wrought pewter; leather; books; nails; boots and shoes; plated ware; soap; candles; glue; carriages, parts of; harnesses, web for; whips; canes; carriage trimmings; copper plate furniture; umbrellas; muffs; tippets; combs; beer; ale; porter; clothing (excepting leather); furniture; woollen cloth; linen cloth; stockings; anchors; carpenters' tools; knives; bit for boring of pumps; carriage hoops and tire; mill saws; scale beams; steel-yards; spades and shovels; hoes; wrought-iron hand-irons; cast-iron ware; shovel and tongs (pair); crows; spikes; tackle; hooks; thimbles; scrapers; marling-spikes; pumps and whaling gear; wrought copper (not inc. sheet c); worms for stills; hats (ex. beaver, beaveret, castor); loaf-sugar (reduced afterward); cordage; cables; yarns; wrought gold and silver; cotton cards; buckskin breeches; leather breeches; leather gloves; wash leather; painters' colors (in oil); playing cards; tobacco (manufactured); paper-hangings; clocks; house-jacks; spirits; wines; watches, gold and silver; jewelry and paste work; gauzes; lawns; cambrics; muslins; silks; hose; mitts; gloves; handkerchiefs; velvet; flowers; feathers; shawls; ribbons; sarcenet; wigs and hair work; tin ware; starch; hair powder; toys; marble and china tile; linseed oil.

[3] See Carey's *American Museum*, iv. p. 347.

Impressed with these sentiments, and finding the evil daily increasing, the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, awaked by a sensé of the danger which threatened them, assembled to deliberate on measures to relieve themselves from the destructive tendency of such importations.

An association was accordingly formed, consisting of a representation from each branch; and in this body the whole manufacturing interest of this town becomes an object of general attention.

The first measure adopted by this association was to pass resolves respecting the importation of certain articles from Europe by our own merchants and numbers of British agents residing among us; but knowing that nothing could be effected to any radical purpose unless we had the authority of the laws, we petitioned the Legislature of this State, praying that duties might be laid on the several articles enumerated in our petition. In consequence of which application, our Legislature complied in a great measure with our request, by enacting laws for the encouragement of industry and for promoting our own manufactures.

However, as we are sensible that our present situation requires an extensive cooperation to complete the purposes we wish, we take this method to bring forward a confederated exertion; and doubt not, from a union of sentiment, the most permanent benefits may arise.

We therefore apply to you, Gentlemen, to lend us your assistance; and, like a band of brothers whose interests are connected, we beg you to join in such measures to advance the general good as your prudence shall suggest, and your wisdom dictate.

We would, with submission, recommend an association of your tradesmen and manufacturers, formed upon the most extensive basis and supported upon the most liberal principles: we may then hope the manufactures of this country will flourish, when each man becomes interested not only in his own branch, but in those of his brethren. Encouraged by such extensive patronage, each individual will be animated to pursue his business with alacrity, knowing that he acts in concert with those on whose friendship he can with confidence rely.

An association being established in your State, we shall be happy to correspond with; and we flatter ourselves from this social intercourse a general harmony will prevail throughout the whole manufacturing interest of this country.

As we hope to experience the good effects of the late acts of our General Court, we should recommend a petition for a similar purpose to your Legislature; and from the known disposition of your State to promote the welfare of America, we doubt not some plan will be devised by your general assembly to prevent the importation of such species of articles as are commonly manufactured in America.

We need not urge the necessity of some measures being immediately taken by the whole confederacy. The embarrassment of our navigation, the large debts contracted in Britain, and the remittances of our currency, — all serve to put every real friend to his country upon serious attention; and if any mode can be adopted to remedy these evils, we are convinced no American will be backward in the cause, but will join heart and hand to promote the desirable purposes.

The means we propose, we conceive are calculated to put each State upon deliberating on a subject highly important to the manufacturing interest; and we cannot but hope that some lasting benefits will accrue from the united voice of the tradesmen and manufacturers of America.

These States are so extensive in their boundaries, so various in their climate, and

so connected in their national interests, that if a plan could be adopted throughout the confederation for the exchange of the produce and manufactures of each State, we conceive it would serve to cement a general union, and prove a means to promote the interest of the whole.

The Northern States might furnish many articles of manufactures which are now imported from Europe; and in return might receive those supplies peculiar to the growth and climate of the Southern.

An association formed throughout the States upon so liberal a plan, would establish many extensive branches of manufacture; and if prosecuted with spirit, would put this country above the humiliating state of lavishing her stores of wealth to promote the manufactures of Europe.

We wish you to communicate this letter to such towns of your State as you shall think proper.

We are, Gentlemen, with every sentiment of respect,

Your most obedient servants,

John Gray,
Gibbins Sharp,
Benjamin Austin, Jr.
Sarson Belcher,
William Hawes,
Joshua Withele.

Such appeals had their effect, and when the first Congress under the New Constitution assembled in 1789, it turned its immediate attention to the protection of manufactures. The second act passed by this first Congress was "For laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandises imported into the United States." It is also worthy of notice that this act, which was passed July 4, 1789, contained a preamble as follows: "Whereas, it is necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, *and the encouragement and protection of manufactures*, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandises imported; Be it enacted," etc.

Whatever may be our opinions to-day regarding protection and free-trade, the wisdom of the actions of the representative manufacturers of Boston, of our General Court, and of Congress, at a time when general industrial depression — and, worse, general industrial decline — prevailed, cannot be questioned.

In spite of the most depressing influences, the decade from 1780 to 1790 was not barren of industrial enterprises and undertakings which gave life and impetus to affairs in some degree, and aided the people in sustaining business interests till a better time. An important enterprise undertaken in 1785 was the building of Charles River Bridge, of which accounts will be found in other chapters. That it could now be successfully carried out indicates the state of the mechanic arts, as well as the spirit and resources of the town. In 1787 the manufacture of glass was revived at Boston, by the formation of a company for the purpose; especial privileges being granted it by the Legislature in accordance with the prevailing public senti-

ment. Chief among these privileges was the exclusive right of manufacture for fifteen years. Active operations were however delayed until 1792. The manufacture of rope and cordage, of which we shall speak more fully hereafter, was still an important one, and in the Federal procession of 1788 the men employed in this industry outnumbered any other class of mechanics. In 1787, also, a factory for the production of paper-hangings existed in Boston. These were now coming into extensive use, and the great cost of imported hangings led to the establishment of several American factories, of which the above was one.[1]

About the year 1789 the General Court encouraged the manufacture of cotton duck, by offering a bounty in behalf of this industry. A company was incorporated and was soon in successful operation in Boston. Within three years it was able to produce two thousand yards per week, and for several years thereafter the annual product was from eighty thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand yards, valued at from $26,000 to $39,000. It was found possible to compete successfully with the foreign manufacturers of sail-cloth. Great perfection of product was attained, and the factory affords an early instance of a workmen's union for mutual improvement and support. By its by-laws quarrels, profanity, and careless workmanship were punished.[2] The following from the diary of General Washington, who in 1789 visited Boston and was shown this factory as one of the noteworthy institutions of the town, is worth reproducing, especially as it gives from the pen of an eye-witness a description of the methods of manufacture: —

"They have twenty-eight looms at work, and fourteen girls spinning with both hands (the flax being fastened to the waist). Children (girls) turn the wheels for them, and with this assistance each spinner can turn out fourteen pounds of thread per day, when they stick to it; but as they are paid by the piece, or the work they do, there is no other restraint upon them but to come at eight o'clock in the morning and return at six in the evening. They are the daughters of decayed families; none others are admitted."[3]

The necessity of obtaining improved machinery for use in the manufacture of woollens led to measures on the part of the legislatures of several States in favor of the makers of this sort of machinery. By the year 1789 there were three quite extensive manufactories of cotton and wool-cards in the town, making sixty-three thousand pairs of cards per year, and underselling those of foreign manufacture. Concerning one of these, General Washington says: "I went to a card manufactory where I was informed there were about nine hundred hands. . . . All kinds of cards were made; and there are machines for executing every part of the work in a new and expeditious manner, especially in cutting and bending the teeth, which is done at one stroke."[4] Instead of the single Milton paper mill, there were now six on the

[1] Bolles, *Industrial History of the United States*, p. 465.

[2] Bishop, i. 419.

[3] General Washington's Diary, in *Mount Vernon Papers*, No. 12, p. 112.

[4] General Washington's Diary, in *Mount Vernon Papers*, No. 12, p. 112. In 1792 four hundred hands were employed.

Neponset, near the head of the tide in Dorchester. Most mills of the sort had two vats and employed about twenty hands, half of whom were boys and girls.[1]

1790–1800. A glance at a map of the town at this time will discover a creek dividing the central part of Boston, and admitting the tide-water into a mill-pond formed by a cove extending up from the north to the line of the Green Street of to-day, and separated from the sea by a causeway, and connecting West Boston with the north part of the town. At the entrance to this causeway were three mills devoted respectively to the manufacture of meal, lumber, and chocolate.[2] The latter mill in 1794 could turn out twenty-five hundred pounds of chocolate daily. In Lynn Street, in this year, brass cannon, bells, and iron ware were made at the foundry of Colonel Revere. Near by, Mr. Fenton had established a new industry, and was making all kinds of earthen vessels similar to the imported Liverpool ware. Another newly established industry was that of calico printing, plain India cottons being employed. This industry was considered especially worthy of encouragement, it being found possible to make prints at a profit, calico then being in great favor as an article of female attire; large importations were made from England. The glass company, whose incorporation we have previously noticed, was now in full operation in a large new factory at the foot of Essex Street. The manufacture of combs in the State had greatly diminished their importation. This industry, having its chief seat at Leominster and West Newbury, was represented in the town, — Graham of Charter Street being the leading maker. Clocks and mathematical instruments were also made to some extent. The manufacture of soap and candles now gave employment to numbers. Large quantities of spermaceti candles were exported, there being four manufactories of this particular kind. Great improvements had been made in the quality of the product, by the use of new machinery. There were thirty distilleries in the town, and prior to the disturbances in the French West Indies the gross product is said to have been upwards of $16,000 annually on each. The disturbances referred to, and the existing excise law, had produced a decline in the business, so that in 1794 only eighteen were operated, and these at a diminished production.

Seven sugar refineries existed, having a productive capacity of one hundred thousand pounds each, annually; but the new tariff on sugar, like the tax on rum, was injurious to this industry, causing diminished production in 1794. But if the making of rum and sugar had declined on account of raw materials imported and the difficulties with France, the cordage and card manufacturers found their business steadily increasing. The latter industry now gave employment to twelve hundred persons, of whom the larger number were women and children, and was one of the largest and most important

[1] Bishop, i. 207.

[2] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii. [See the map at the beginning of Volume I. This creek was on the line of the present Blackstone Street. Its formation at a very early day has been explained in Vol. I. p. 553. — Ed.]

enterprises of the town. A wind-mill was utilized for cutting the card-board at the principal factory. We have already spoken of the improved machinery employed. One man working at the machine for cutting and bending the wire and perforating the leather employed in the card, could prepare the wire for twenty dozen pairs of cards in twelve hours.[1] This was thought a great achievement; but a few years later,—in 1797,—when over two thousand persons were engaged in this industry, Amos Whittemore, an ingenious mechanic of the town, was still further to perfect the machinery employed, by reducing the various operations to a series of perfect automatic movements, thus revolutionizing the business both here and abroad.[2]

There were in 1793 fourteen rope-walks in operation, and this industry was thriving. The manufacture of twine and lines was fostered by a bounty from the General Court; over fifty men were employed in this branch alone. A disastrous fire this year destroyed one half the rope-walks; six being at once rebuilt, to be again burned in 1806.[3] Fine beaver hats were now made, rivalling those of foreign manufacture. Fish-hooks were manufactured, the wire for these and for the card-makers being made at Dedham.[4] Besides the industries we have enumerated, the building trades were likewise flourishing.

Outside the town limits, but in its immediate vicinity, were manufactories of axes, hoes, shovels, scythes, nails, tow cloth, cotton and linen sheeting, thread, checks, bed-ticks, striped flannels, thread, cloth, and worsted hose, gloves and mitts, diapers, and cotton and woollen coverlets; and most of these were brought to the town for sale. Lynn was now producing one hundred and seventy thousand pairs of shoes annually. Powder was made at Andover and Stoughton.[5] In 1796 the making of morocco, which had declined during the war, was revived at Charlestown.[6]

During the last decade of the century, the town was growing in size and importance. Many important public and private improvements were carried out. The building industry was thriving. Boston was now the chief depot of supply of brick,—large quantities being made in the immediate vicinity, the town of Medford alone producing four millions annually. Labor was still scarce and now in demand, wages being high. The apprentice system was then in vogue, and, under the pressure of competition, apprentices were frequently induced to leave their masters in violation of the terms of their indentures, by promises of increased pay or lighter service.[7]

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii.
[2] Bishop, i. 497.
[3] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Bishop, ii. 58, 59.
[6] Ibid., ii. 84.
[7] To protect their interests in this respect, an association of the mechanics of Boston was formed in 1795; Colonel Paul Revere being chosen president, and Edward Tuckerman, vice-president. The society prospered greatly, and with enlarged aims soon took the name of the Association of Mechanics of the Commonwealth, and still later, in 1806 (see various sources; among others, Bishop, ii. 62), became the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association, still in flourishing condition, after an active service of more than eighty years devoted to the best interests of mechanics and the improvement of the industrial arts.

Prior to the Revolution, Boston, as we have noted, carried on a large ship-building business, there being upwards of twenty-seven dock-yards in the town at one time;[1] a large number of mechanics being employed in the various branches. One yard alone had been known to launch twelve ships during one year, and in all the docks at one time at least sixty vessels were on the stocks.[2] The embarrassments of the war caused this large industry to decline, so that during the last decade of the last century few vessels were built in Boston, though considerable numbers were built within the Commonwealth. The establishment of the Navy Yard[3] at Charlestown, in 1798, gave quite an impetus to business generally, especially to the building trades. It aided in bringing about a state of affairs industrially, at the close of the century, which was exceedingly encouraging, especially when all the difficulties which beset manufacturing enterprises of all kinds after the war are taken into consideration.

1800–1810. Messrs. Dix and Brinley had previous to 1800 established chemical works at South Boston,[4] and these works were now in operation. The copper works of the Messrs. Revere are referred to by various writers as of Boston; Bishop saying that "in 1802 the only manufactory of sheet copper in the country was that of the Messrs. Revere at Boston." The facts are, that while this firm made Boston the headquarters of its business, the manufactory was at Canton, where soon after the war $25,000 had been invested in plant by Colonel Revere's sons.

In 1804 a company which had been incorporated in 1789 completed the Middlesex Canal, which became of great importance in the development of the cotton industry, and was mainly in the interest of the industries carried on by Boston capital.[5] In 1805 a man named White began the building of carriages at Dorchester. It is claimed for him that he built the first carriage made in the United States. This may be true so far as the special style of carriages made by him is concerned; but it is hardly true as to carriages in general, for Philadelphia had an establishment for the manufacture of coaches of all kinds previous to 1790, and New York as early as 1768. The first recorded patent granted by the United States for planing machines was issued June 1, 1805, to John Bennock of Boston. Mr. Jesse Reed, who had made several inventions in the manufacture of nails, took an important patent in 1807 for a machine for cutting and heading nails by one operation. Twenty of these machines were soon afterward put in operation at Malden. The Messrs. Revere sent a petition to Congress in 1808, praying for a duty of 17½ per cent on copper in sheets, and for the free importation of old copper; the reason of the prayer being, as alleged by the firm, their ability to supply the whole United States with sheet copper: they did not wish to have foreign makers take a part of the trade. Their prayer was not granted,

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii. 286.
[2] Ibid.
[3] [See Admiral Preble's chapter, in Vol. III. — Ed.]
[4] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 204.
[5] Bishop, ii. 108. [See Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr.'s chapter on "Canals and Railroads." — Ed.]

no duty being placed upon copper plates till 1842. The twine manufacturers of Boston, the same year, 1808, petitioned for a protective duty. They produced, with the makers in Charlestown, Salem, Beverly, and Plymouth, forty-six thousand dozen hemp-lines and twenty-seven thousand five hundred pounds of flax twine per annum. In 1812 the duty was increased. Important patents were granted in 1808 to Elisha Callender of Boston for lightning-rods, being the first patent in the United States for that article; and in 1810, to Phineas Dow for a leather-splitting machine, one of the most important inventions used in the preparation of leather for the manufacture of various articles besides boots and shoes. At this time the soap and candle factories of Roxbury employed a capital of $100,000, producing three hundred and seventy thousand pounds of candles, three hundred and eighty thousand pounds of brown soap, and fifty thousand pounds of Windsor and fancy soaps per annum. The manufacture of tin, japanned and plated ware, was also in successful operation.

The first decade of the new century was one eventful, indeed, in the industrial history of the country as well as of Boston. The bad effects of the embargo of 1807–8 were in some degree counterbalanced by the stimulation it gave to manufactures. The latter were benefited at the expense of commerce, and much of the capital and effort engaged in commerce were directed to industrial channels. New demands for labor sprang up by the establishment of various manufactures for the supply of domestic wants.[1] The effect of the embargo is well illustrated by the fact that prior to it there were in the United States but fifteen cotton mills, with eight thousand spindles; while at the end of 1809 the number built was eighty-seven, and the number in operation was sixty-two, with thirty-one thousand spindles.[2] Many more mills were in process of erection everywhere, and the prospect of industrial prosperity stimulated speculation, the usual accompaniment of artificial causes. The war of 1812, of course, but added to these causes; and the first half of the second decade of this century saw many establishments rise in Boston, only to go down during the second half. Some lived, to be sure; but peace brought the old experience which the manufacturers of the years at the close of the Revolution had passed through in their time.

1810–1820. In 1810 the third census of the United States was taken. Inquiries relative to manufactures were now by law included, for the first time, in the schedules for any census. The result was of no particular value, yet it indicated to some extent what was being done. The account for Boston shows a total product for the branches reported of $2,478,391, while it is safe to estimate the product of manufactures of Boston at this period to be not far from $9,000,000: this is a low estimate. The principal products returned at this census were: fur hats, $56,000; clocks and watches, $21,000; gold and silver work, $95,000; copper and brass goods, $21,000; buttons,

[1] Hildreth, *History of the United States*, vi. 111.. [2] Ibid., i. 210.

$20,000; tallow candles, $40,000; soap, $30,600; boots, shoes, and slippers, $131,225; saddlery, $90,400; spirits, $764,400; beer, $57,800; metals, mixed, $151,481; cabinet work, $115,000; sugar, refined, $64,000; glass, $36,000; cordage, $545,000; musical instruments, $17,200; spectacles, $10,000.[1]

The interruption of our commerce with the Baltic enhanced the price, and gave great impulse to the cultivation and manufacture, of hemp used for bale-rope, bagging, and especially for rigging and cordage for the navy. It was the opinion of many citizens that, by reason of Government patronage, commerce and the fisheries had been unduly extended to the neglect of internal industries. It was considered wise for the Government to endeavor to create, by judicious patronage, a domestic market for the labor and capital which, should war be avoided, would naturally seek employment. To this end memorials were presented to Congress; and, among others, petitions for further protection from the morocco manufacturers at Charlestown, where at this time (1811) one hundred and fifty thousand skins were annually manufactured, out of eight hundred thousand in the United States. Measures were also taken to aid the woollen industry, as the undeveloped state of that manufacture was seen to be a serious evil, now that the supply of woollens from abroad was greatly diminished by the restrictive measures of the Government.

Differences in the exchange on England, growing out of the Non-importation Act, brought a large amount of specie to the United States, and this was acting as a stimulant to manufacturing. During the following year, — 1812, — war was declared against Great Britain; and, to secure the funds necessary to sustain the war, duties were doubled on imports; and this, together with the interference with commerce caused by the restrictive measures growing out of the war, resulted in an immediate and considerable advance in the price of all necessaries. This advance, and the steady demand for all products of industry required by the war, caused a rapid extension of certain industries, especially those of woollen and cotton; and manufacturing in general during the continuance of hostilities was exceedingly prosperous. Many new industries arose, among others the manufacture of emery, pins, and flint-glass. Wood engraving was introduced in Boston, in 1811, by Nathaniel Dearborn.[2] A communication to the Secretary of the Treasury states, as an impressive fact, that manufacturing in America outran agriculture in most instances.[3]

Invention was also stimulated in the line of cotton and woollen machinery. In 1813 was erected the mill of the Boston Manufacturing Company,

[1] The experiment of taking industrial statistics was repeated in 1820 without success; but no other attempt was made till 1837, when the State instituted inquiries, the results of which will be given in the proper place. In 1840 schedules relating to products of manufactures were incorporated in the Federal census system; and such schedules, improved from time to time, have been used in all succeeding decennial censuses.

[2] Dearborn's *Boston Notions.* [Benj. Dearborn in 1814 introduced a new process of printing in colors. See a note in Mr. Stanwood's chapter. — ED.]

[3] *Digest of Census,* — Coxe to Secretary of Treasury.

at Waltham. This, although outside the limits of Boston, deserves to be included in an account of her industries, inasmuch as it was entirely due to Boston capital and the ability of Boston mechanics. This mill marks the first introduction of the power-loom in this country. The loom used in this mill was largely the invention of Mr. Francis C. Lowell, of Boston, and its invention and construction were nearly contemporaneous with the successful introduction of the power-loom in England. Mr. Lowell's loom was put in operation at Waltham in 1814. He was the first in any country to apply all the processes of the manufacture of textiles — from the raw material to the finished piece — in one factory, as the scientific embodiment of all such processes in complete and harmonious operation. This enterprise at Waltham was the precursor of the cotton industry at Lowell, within the present territory of which city the first cotton cloth had just been made, and whither the promoters of the Waltham mill extended their operations in 1822.

During the period of the war, and up to Feb. 10, 1815, manufactures throughout the country continued to progress with unprecedented activity. The protection afforded by the war was now withdrawn. After the declaration of peace, large importations of foreign goods threatened the immediate destruction of our home industries, many of which had not yet become sufficiently strong to compete successfully with those abroad. It was seen that immediate changes must be made in the tariff, and protection afforded to the incipient industries of the country. But before the remedy could be applied many enterprises totally failed. Dec. 5, 1815, Madison, in his annual message, urged protective legislation. Petitions were poured upon Congress from manufacturers throughout the country. Financial disturbances aggravated the evils from which the industries were suffering. Societies for the encouragement of manufactures were everywhere formed. The tariff question continued to be agitated until the passage of the protective tariff act of May, 1824, and the still more important act of 1828.

In the year 1811 the first successful attempt in this portion of the country to manufacture flint-glass was made by one Thomas Cains, who has been called the father of the business in the Atlantic States. Cains began his operations at a small six-pot furnace, erected at South Boston.[1] Perkins Nichols, of Boston, was granted a patent this year on an improved auger;[2] Benjamin Bell, upon sulphuric acid;[2] and Cyrus Alger, on an improved method of casting rollers for rolling iron.[2]

The gentleman last named had previously (in 1809) begun the foundry business in South Boston, being associated with General Winslow. In five years he closed his connection with Winslow, and began business on his own account on Fourth Street. The enterprises with which he was afterward connected were intimately associated with the growth of South Boston, and rank among the most important of Boston's industries. Mr. Alger was a man of unusual capacity and foresight, being thoroughly acquainted with

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 205. [2] Bishop, ii. 176.

his business, in which he made great improvements. Besides the inventions we have mentioned, he devised a method of purifying cast-iron, thereby greatly increasing its strength. He also made an important improvement in the reverberatory furnaces for melting iron. He had great skill in the manufacture of cannon, both iron and bronze. This superior skill and inventive ability enabled him to build up rapidly a successful and lucrative business. He was employed by the Government in the manufacture of cannon and cannon-balls during the war of 1812. The largest gun ever cast in America prior to 1860 was made at his foundry. His business was considerably extended by the founding, at a period somewhat later than that we are now considering (in 1827), of the Alger Iron Works, one of the leading manufactories of South Boston. Mr. Alger was the first man in South Boston to introduce the ten-hour system; and it was his custom to make strictly cash payments to his workmen. His pay-roll for many years was upwards of $2,000 per week.[1]

In 1816 a new American power-loom was invented and put in operation in Boston by E. Savage.[2]

1820–1830. Soon after 1820 a lead-paint factory was established at Boston.[3] The same year the manufacture of chain cables was begun. The factory used for the latter was for thirty years the only successful one in the country. It was finally closed on account of English competition. The business was resumed in 1856.[4] In 1822 Jonas Chickering, a Boston mechanic, began experimenting on pianos. His first instrument was offered for sale in 1823.[5] Six years later seven hundred and seventeen were made in Boston in one year. Mr. Chickering was not only the founder of the large and prosperous business still identified with his name, but he may be considered the originator of the piano industry, as such, in the United States; although a Mr. Osborn had made pianos on a small scale in Boston prior to Chickering. Mr. Chickering came to Boston in 1818, and entered Mr. Osborn's employ in 1819.[6]

In 1822 the well-known ship-yard of Noah Brooks was established at South Boston. Prior to this, ship-building had been carried on in this part of the city to a limited extent, Lot Wheelwright being the pioneer in 1812. Mr. Brooks carried on an extensive business for many years.[7] By 1824 the manufacture of flannel in Eastern Massachusetts had largely increased, fifteen thousand pieces of forty-six yards each being now made annually in the vicinity of Boston.[8] In 1827 William S. Pendleton founded the first lithographic establishment in the United States at Boston. It was immediately successful. The previous year — 1826 — the New England Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts was established.

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston.*
[2] Bishop, ii. 233.
[3] Bolles, p. 355.
[4] Bishop, ii. 259.
[5] Bolles, p. 536.
[6] See *Life of Jonas Chickering*, in Hunt's *American Merchants.* J. Parton on "The Piano in the United States" in *Atlantic Monthly*, xx.
[7] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 212.
[8] Bishop, ii. 294.

This society held public exhibitions of industrial products, the use of Faneuil Hall being granted it without charge for this purpose. It also held semi-annual sales, the first occurring Sept. 12, 1826. Two million dollars were realized from the sales of the first five years. Premiums were awarded at its exhibitions, and the society exercised a beneficial influence upon the progress of the mechanic arts.[1] In 1827 was established the Boston Mechanics' Institute, for the promotion of science and the useful arts by lectures and other means.[2]

Among the new industries established during this decade was that of watch-crystals, of which a manufactory existed in 1829.[3] The same period witnessed the extension of the factory system, and the incorporation of manufacturing companies;[4] several of the latter took charters after 1814–15, going into operation between 1820 and 1830. Several mills were erected during this decade at Lowell, — in fact, Lowell found its real origin in this period. In all these undertakings at Lowell, — and indeed many of those whose existence dates from this decade, — Boston furnished the pioneers.

1830–1840. In 1830 Mr. Charles Griffiths began the manufacture of saws at Boston, soon after associating with himself Mr. William Welch. Prior to this there were but two or three saw manufactories in the country, nearly all our saws being imported. Messrs. Welch and Griffiths turned their attention to the manufacture of circular saws, and, in the face of many obstacles, succeeded in establishing a national reputation for their goods, although their failure had been predicted. From time to time the firm made many improvements in methods of manufacture, especially in the mode of grinding both surfaces of a saw at once.

Out of twenty-one glass furnaces existing in the United States in 1831, for the manufacture of flint-glass, six were in Boston and its immediate vicinity. The total annual product of the two largest was valued at $400,000, mostly cut glass. Only one factory for making black-glass bottles existed in the country, and that was near Boston, having a capital of $50,000, and affording employment to sixty-five men and boys. The New England Crown Glass Company, near Boston, made crown window-glass to the value of $100,000 annually, its capital being $450,000.[5]

Soon after 1830 the manufacture of india-rubber began to receive attention. In 1833 the Roxbury Rubber Company was incorporated, with a capital of $300,000, followed the next year by the incorporation of the South Boston, the Suffolk, and other companies for the same purpose.[6] About this time, also, upward of three hundred women were employed in Boston in the manufacture of an article known as Tuscan braid, for bonnets. This braid was composed of silk warp, with Tuscan straw or whalebone filling.[7]

[1] Bowen, *Picture of Boston.*
[2] Bishop, ii. 316.
[3] Ibid., ii. 340.
[4] [See Mr. Edw. Atkinson's chapter. — Ed.]
[5] Bishop, ii. 359; also, *Report* of Committee on Glass to New York Tariff Convention.
[6] Ibid., ii. 394.
[7] Ibid., ii. 393.

Fine castings of statuary and ornamental metal-work were made in 1834 at the foundry of Mr. Francis Alger.[1]

The establishment of the East Boston Company in 1831 was to give an unwonted impulse to the industries of the city. The East Boston Sugar Refinery was the first manufacturing establishment in the Island ward. This company was incorporated March 25, 1834; and its first sugar-house was erected the same year, being afterward much enlarged and improved. By its charter the company was empowered to manufacture and refine sugar, and to buy and sell it and all articles necessary in its manufacture and refining. Its capital was fixed at $250,000. Two years after incorporation the company employed eighty workmen, its normal production being about twenty-five thousand boxes of sugar annually. English influence was exerted to discourage the stockholders by casting discredit upon the mode of manufacture proposed by Mr. John Brown, one of the chief promoters of the enterprise, who had visited England to inquire into the method of sugar refining in use there. In spite of this, however, the company succeeded in establishing itself, and prospered until the period of financial distress following the year 1837, when, owing to various causes, it was obliged to suspend payment. It soon after was able to resume, and has since had a successful career.

The East Boston Timber Company, incorporated in 1834, was formed "for the purpose of sawing and preparing plank, boards, staves, joists, scantling, and all and every other articles manufactured from wood." The following year the company erected a wharf, warehouse, and timber-dock, the latter being two hundred feet square. This was the depot for large quantities of lumber of the best quality, and the foundation of such an enterprise was exceedingly beneficial to the ship-building industry, by affording a plentiful supply of material. The company failed in 1840, owing to financial disasters of the previous two years. Ship-building has always been an important industry in East Boston. Every sort of vessel has been built there; and other industries necessary to the work have grown up along its water front. The first vessel was launched Aug. 9, 1834, and the second Jan. 28, 1835. These were ferry-boats, to be used between East Boston and the city proper. The first square-rigged ship was the "Niagara," of four hundred and sixty tons, launched Sept. 24, 1835. After 1839 the business constantly increased, and we shall again allude to it in connection with the establishment of some of the important yards.[2]

In 1835 George C. Thacher, Thomas Thacher, and William G. Billings founded the Fulton Iron Foundry at South Boston, and the next year the firm was merged in a corporation established by act of the Legislature. Mr. George C. Thacher was previously connected with Mr. Cyrus Alger, of whom mention has been made, the two gentlemen being pioneers in this industry in the United States. The Fulton foundry enterprise was at once successful, and large additions were made from time to time in the original

[1] Bishop, ii. 386. [2] Sumner, *History of East Boston*, pp. 679-685.

works until the establishment extended over several acres.[1] In 1836 the Adams Printing-Press Works began business at South Boston.[2] The well-known Adams press, patented by Mr. Isaac Adams, of Boston, is still among the leading presses for book-printing. The Messrs. Adams manufactured not only presses, but engines, boilers, and general machinery. The following year another important industry was established in this part of the city, — Coney's Iron Foundry, devoted to the manufacture of iron steamships and machinery. Business was suspended at this establishment in 1850.[3]

In 1839 the Boyden Malleable Iron and Steel Company of East Boston closed its works. This concern began business in 1835, making all kinds of iron and steel ware; its product when in full operation being about fifteen tons of malleable iron castings per week. At such times about three hundred workmen were employed. Speculative management caused the suspension of the works.[4]

In 1837 the State undertook its first industrial census. The law under which it was taken was very incomplete; many important industries being omitted from the schedules. This census exhibited Boston proper as producing goods to the amount of $10,063,231, and the cities and towns constituting the Boston of to-day over twelve and a quarter millions; probably twenty-two million or twenty-five million dollars would more correctly represent the products in 1837 of all that makes Boston in 1880.[5]

1840–1850. Bolles says:[6] "After the tariff of 1842, which gave those who chose to take up bell-founding the protection of a duty of thirty-five per cent, a number of small factories were started, some of which afterward attained celebrity." Among the latter he mentions one at Boston. Further on he says: "The largest bell ever made in this country was cast at Boston for the City Hall at New York, its weight being twenty-three thousand pounds." In 1843 the Sturtevant Linseed Oil Works were established at East Boston.[7] The old-fashioned presses were employed, making at first two hundred and afterward three hundred gallons per day. Later (1849) another firm assumed control, and increased the production to twenty-two hundred gallons daily. Afterward the works were still further extended.

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 207.

[2] Ibid., p. 206.

[3] Ibid., p. 209.

[4] Sumner, *History of East Boston*.

[5] The industries in which half a million dollars' worth, or over, were annually produced, so far as reported, were ship-building, book-publishing, manufacture of clothing, copper and brass works, and sugar refineries; and there were probably some others not reported. The production of pianos had grown to ten hundred and thirty-three, valued at about $300,000; the leather carried $228,000; hats made $194,673; iron castings, $372,000; cabinet-ware, $148,100; strawbonnets, $182,450; brushes, $93,000; carriages and harnesses, $128,805; saddles, trunks, and whips, $177,000; machinery, $326,000; looking-glasses, $147,500; stereotype work, $157,000. It is much to be regretted that the statistics of industries have not, till recently, been as complete as those of population, — even delusive as the latter have been at times. The stagnation of trade and manufactures, on account of the financial distress prevailing at the time of this first industrial census on the part of the State, had much to do with the meagre returns. The beginning, however, was made, and each succeeding State census has shown increased efforts to secure full information.

[6] *Industrial History of the United States*, p. 350.

[7] Sumner, *History of East Boston*.

In 1843 work was begun at the American Flint-Glass Works, South Boston.[1] The next year Mr. Uriah A. Boyden, of Boston, invented a turbine water-wheel which effected the utilization of seventy-eight per cent of the power of the water, and soon came into extended use. The first one was employed in a cotton factory at Lowell. Mr. Boyden afterward made further improvements in water-wheels, finally utilizing eighty-two per cent of the power of the water,[2] instead of about sixty per cent realized by the old wheels.

The celebrated ship-yard of Donald McKay at East Boston was established in 1845, and those of D. D. Kelly and Jackson and Ewell in 1848.[3]

The pioneer manufactory of gas, steam, and water-fittings as a separate industry was established in 1842 by Messrs. Walworth and Nason. At the same time Messrs. Joseph Nason & Co. had begun a similar business in New York. These parties were the first to introduce the plan of heating buildings by steam conveyed through small iron pipes.[4]

In 1846 the Globe Locomotive Works were founded at South Boston by Messrs. Lyman and Souther. The name "Globe" was not adopted until 1849, when Mr. Lyman retired. At first from twenty to seventy-five men were employed; but the business rapidly increased until three hundred *employés* were on the rolls.[5] In 1847 Harrison Loring began the manufacture of stationary and marine engines and other machinery at South Boston. Other prominent South Boston industries, not previously noted, are the Mount-Washington Glass-Works, the wire-works established by Henry S. Washburn, and manufactories of wagons, soap, ploughs, one or two brass-foundries, the Suffolk Lead Works, and the works of the Bay State Iron Company.[6]

In 1848 the Boston Locomotive Works were incorporated, Mr. Holmes Hinkley being President and Superintendent. Mr. Hinkley had in 1826 begun business as a machinist, in a small way, upon Boston Neck. He soon after began the construction of stationary engines, in which he met with such success that previous to 1840 he had made a larger number than any other manufacturer in New England. In 1840 he turned his attention to locomotives, constantly enlarging his business until it was merged in the corporation above noted, which was the predecessor of the Hinkley and Williams works of the present day.[7]

The first regular machine shop in Roxbury was started in 1843 by Mr. J. C. Pratt, who in 1847 was succeeded by the firm of Chubbuck and Campbell. Mr. Chubbuck, of this firm, had previously made improvements in engines, and is well known as the constructor of novel and ingenious machinery. The first tubular boiler made in the vicinity of Boston was constructed by Messrs. Chubbuck and Campbell.[8]

In 1845 Messrs. Mason and Hamlin laid the foundation of their extensive

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 214.
[2] Bolles, p. 303.
[3] Sumner, *History of East Boston*.
[4] Bishop, iii. 288.
[5] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 214.
[6] Ibid., p. 216.
[7] Bishop, iii. 297–299.
[8] Ibid., iii. 302.

business by beginning the construction of reed organs on a large scale.[1] The sewing-machine invented by Elias Howe, Jr., of Cambridge, in 1846, was very imperfect, and other inventors aided in remedying its defects. Among these was John Batchelder, of Boston, who in 1849 constructed an automatic feeding device. The same year Messrs. Blodgett and Lerow, also of Boston, invented a rotary shuttle for use in making the lock-stitch.[2]

The second industrial census of the State was taken in 1845. The Federal census of 1840 included inquiries as to manufactures, but the results were of no value; the Federal census of 1850 was valuable in this respect. The State census of 1845, while an improvement upon that of 1837, was exceedingly unsatisfactory, both from its many omissions of important industries and its methods. The results did not show that much advance had been made in the value of products; in fact, this could hardly be expected, for manufactures had not fully recovered from the effects of the reverses of 1837. The total value of the products of Suffolk County, including all the territory now comprised therein, reported at this second census was about $14,000,000. The United States census of 1850 gave the Suffolk County of that year $32,013,869 worth of manufactured goods,—a sum much too small. Probably the products for the year 1845 amounted to over $35,000,000, and for 1850 to nearly $45,000,000.

1850–1860. In 1850 Edward Howard and others, associated under the name of the "Warren Manufacturing Company," began the manufacture of watches at Roxbury. These were the first watches made in America. The enterprise originated in the experiments of Mr. Howard and Mr. A. L. Dennison, who a year or two before had commenced studying the manufacture of watches by machinery. At first only rough skeleton movements were made, the finer parts being imported from Switzerland. The company was afterward merged in the Boston Watch Company, a factory being erected for their purposes at Waltham. The concern became involved in financial difficulties, and the Waltham property passed into other hands, Mr. Howard returning to Roxbury, where he has since been located. The Howard Company now makes everything necessary to complete a watch.[3]

The discovery of gold in California stimulated the ship-building interest at East Boston. The yard of Paul Curtis was established in 1852; Simpson's dry dock in 1853, and the yard of the Messrs. Boole the following year. There then existed seven yards and docks for building and repairing, a floating dock, several extensive spar-making establishments, and numerous other industries connected with the business. More than five hundred mechanics were employed in the various branches of the industry.[4] The iron steamship "Le Voyageur de la Mer," launched Feb. 25, 1857, was the first instance, in this country, of the application of American iron to the construction of a first-class vessel. Many noted vessels built here testify to the

[1] Bolles, p. 540.
[2] Ibid., p. 245.
[3] Bolles, p. 229; also Bishop.
[4] Sumner, *History of East Boston*.

skill of Boston mechanics.[1] The manufacture of earthenware and fire-brick was begun at East Boston in 1854 by Mr. Frederick Mear, assisted by Mr. William F. Homer.[2]

After 1852 the East Boston Sugar Refinery, before alluded to, completed improvements in their machinery and apparatus, thus placing their works on a level with the best refineries in the country. In 1858 the quantity of sugar refined per annum was about twenty-five million pounds. About two hundred men were then employed.[3] In 1858 the erection of the works of the Adams Sugar Refinery at South Boston was begun. This refinery — one of the largest in the country — succeeded an old refinery, burned in that year, the property of Mr. Seth Adams, who had embarked in the business in 1849, having previously been connected with his brother in the manufacture of printing presses and machinery, as before noted.

The leading sewing-machine in 1858 was that invented by Messrs. Grover and Baker, of Boston, and patented by them in 1851. This embodied a new principle, used no shuttle, and made a double loop-stitch, by means of a circular rotary needle.[4] In 1855 there were five establishments for the manufacture of sewing-machines; they produced but 3,385 machines that year. The sewing-machine manufacture was inaugurated during this decade. The sewing-machine manufactured at the beginning of this decade was invented in Boston in 1850 by I. M. Singer. He had a manufactory in Harvard Place, which was soon transferred to New York.

The third State census of industries was taken in 1855, and by this the value of products in Suffolk County (present territory) for that year was $58,301,028. There were at this time twenty pianoforte-manufactories, and 6,122 instruments were made during the year, valued at $1,984,700. The product in other lines had increased, and the general business of manufacturing was in prosperous condition; but the financial disasters of the year 1857 checked the growth of the industries of Boston for a brief period.

1860–1870. This decade, eventful to the country, brought prosperity to the manufactures of Boston, and the effects of the depression of 1857 were quickly overcome; nor was there any check to this prosperity during the decade, at least none that could in any sense compare with that of 1857. The War of the Rebellion stimulated in an extraordinary and an unhealthy degree all industrial enterprises, but to the popular mind the stimulation meant prosperity. Nevertheless, but few new industries were established during this decade; among such, however, was the Downer Kerosene Works.

[1] The following table, drawn from data contained in Sumner's *History of East Boston*, will afford a view of the growth of the industry from 1834 to 1857:—

Number of Vessels Built at East Boston, by Years.

1834-39	6	1843	3
1840	2	1844	5
1841	3	1845	8
1842	4	1846	7
1847	11	1853	21
1848	6	1854	30
1849	10	1855	19
1850	12	1856	28
1851	12	1857	19
1852	15		

[2] Sumner, *History of East Boston.*

[3] Ibid.

[4] Bolles, p. 246.

The means of reference are too easy of access to require at our hands detailed statements after the year 1860, in which the eighth United States census was taken. From this the products of Suffolk County have been estimated at $64,000,000, the leading industries being the manufacture of food preparations, camphene, clothing, copper and brass goods and materials, furniture, iron castings, rolled iron, iron steamships, leather, liquors (malt and distilled), machinery, lumber, pianofortes and musical instruments, linseed-oil, kerosene, printing (including books and newspapers), sewing-machines, ships, sugar-refining, upholstering, etc.

The fourth State census, 1865, gave the exhibit at the close of the war, and by this exhibit Suffolk County (present territory) produced $110,000,000 worth of goods.

1870–1880. The products of the county for 1870 could not have been far from $120,000,000,[1] while in 1875, by the last State census, they were $140,809,856; and in 1880 their estimated value reaches $150,000,000.[2]

From 1873 to 1878–79, the industries of Boston, like those of the whole country, suffered severely from financial disturbances, and did not probably progress much in value of products; but during 1878–79 the business of the country began to revive, so that the close of the century beginning with 1780 found Boston's industries in a most thriving condition, and her manufacturers as thoroughly alive to her interests as they were at the beginning of the period assigned us. The Boston of 1780, producing between three and four million dollars' worth of goods, has grown to the Boston of 1880, producing, according to the best estimates, one hundred and fifty million dollars' worth within her own territorial limits, or the limits of Suffolk County; while in fact the manufactures dependent upon Boston capital, if their value could be ascertained, would reach $300,000,000 per annum. This is well illustrated in the boot and shoe business. Boston is credited with the production of boots and shoes to the value of about $2,000,000, when the product derived from her invested capital in this industry is really ten times that amount. No true account of the industries of Boston can be given until the census shall consider the location of capital in relation to the production of goods.

There are in Boston at the present time many establishments whose origin dates well back in the history of the town and city. Among these are two book-binderies established in 1825, one in 1828, one in 1834, three in 1850, and one in 1858; of the establishments for printing and the manufacture of blank-books, one was begun in 1799, and one in 1804; for making boots and shoes, one in 1810, one in 1826, and one each in 1839, 1840, 1841, 1845, 1847, and 1848; for making brushes, one in 1803, and one in 1840; for the manufacture of chocolate, one in 1674; copper goods, one in 1818, and one in 1834; carriages, one in 1830; for making elevators, one in 1813; saddles,

[1] The sums stated since 1860 are currency rates.

[2] The results of the United States Census of 1880 are not available.

trunks, etc., one in 1819; manganese and plaster, one in 1645; friction matches, one in 1835; medicines, one in 1826; pianofortes, one each in 1831, 1842, 1843, and two in 1849; preserves and canned goods, one in 1822; razor-strops, one in 1827; rum, one in 1791; sails, one in 1820; silver and plated ware, one in 1820, one in 1821, one in 1830, and one in 1836; soda-water and beer, one in 1814; starch and gum, one in 1829; stoves, furnaces, and ranges, one each in 1823, 1830, 1839, 1840, 1842; tin-ware, one in 1826, one in 1835, four in 1837, one in 1838, and one in 1843; trusses, etc., one in 1832; umbrellas, one in 1810 and one in 1825; watches and clocks, one in 1793. The dates of the establishment of newspapers now in existence are given in the following list by years and number in each year: —

1804 1	1831 1	1849 2	1866 4
1813 1	1832 2	1850 2	1867 4
1815 1	1836 1	1851 2	1868 6
1819 2	1838 1	1852 1	1869 3
1820 1	1840 1	1854 2	1870 5
1821 1	1841 1	1857 2	1871 9
1822 1	1842 1	1859 2	1872 6
1823 1	1843 3	1860 2	1873 3
1824 2	1844 3	1862 1	1874 9
1825 1	1847 3	1864 2	1875 6
1830 2	1848 1	1865 4	

Our interest in the value of products from decade to decade has been excited by the consideration of all the data essential to the preparation of this brief account of the industries of Boston, and we have made an estimate of such value for each decade since 1780. To do this, all the elements entering into the growth of the city have been carefully weighed, — the increase of population, the census statements when available, and all the other elements in the matter. We have seen the necessity of such estimates so often, that we feel it almost a duty to insert them here, not as infallible, but yet as near the actual truth as we have been able to make them. They are valuable because no such estimates exist, and because made while the study of the industries of Boston is fresh in mind, and with the attention fixed upon the whole sweep of the period.

Table showing Actual and Estimated Value of the Annual Products of the Industries of Suffolk County (present territory) for the first Year of each Decade, from 1780 *to* 1880.

1780.	$3,000,000 to $4,000,000.	Estimated.	1850.	$45,000,000.	Estimated.
1790.	$4.500,000.	,,	1855.	$58.301,028.	Actual.
1800.	$6,500,000.	,,	1860.	$64,000,000.	Estimated.
1810.	$9,000,000.	,,	1865.	$110,000,000.	Actual.
1820.	$16,000,000.	,,	1870.	$120,000,000.	,,
1830.	$25,000,000.	,,	1875.	$140,809,856.	,,
1840.	$30,000,000.	,,	1880.	$150,000,000.	Estimated.

The details of the industries of Boston are fully given in the reports of the State and Federal censuses since 1837; we have, therefore, given less space to the consideration of details since that time than to those prior to the year 1837. A full historical and philosophical account of the industries of Boston would require a volume by itself, although the data from which such account would be drawn are meagre indeed, and exist mostly in fugitive statements of writers who did not pay particular attention to industrial interests, — one of the chief defects in all history. We have recorded in this sketch all that space would warrant, but it may be we have saved others the research necessary to the construction of this outline.

Carroll D. Wright.

Horace G. Wadlin.

CHAPTER IV.

BOSTON AS A CENTRE OF MANUFACTURING CAPITAL.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

IN order that we may fully comprehend the relative importance of the industrial arts in the social system, it would be well if we could give precision to the terms which we must use, lest we should be misled by words which have lost their original meaning, and are now applied, like the word "manufacture," to processes which they do not truly designate.

The application of capital to the construction of the great textile factories, to which the title of "manufactures" is apt to be limited in common thought, imposes somewhat upon the imagination, and may divert our attention from other branches. It has not been in that direction that the most characteristic work of Boston has been effected. In its conventional use the term "manufactures" is now applied almost wholly to the goods worked in factories under a divided system of labor, rather than to wares made in workshops in which true manufacture or handicraft still exists. This factory system has been almost exclusively the growth of the last century. It only became possible concurrently with the application of steam-power, — the substitution of the turbine for the old water wheel, the invention of automatic spinning machinery, of the power-loom, and of machine tools. It has been applied to other occupations than the textile arts and metal working, just in proportion to the displacement of manual labor and the substitution of mechanism, more or less automatic, — such as the sewing-machine, the engine lathe, the boot pegging and stitching machines, and the like.

The development of the factory system thus made possible by the substitution, in whole or in part, of mechanism for manual labor has worked great changes in the social order both of Boston and of Massachusetts; it has substituted in large measure the supervision of the agent or superintendent of the factory for the close personal intercourse of the employer with his journeymen and apprentices; and while it has increased abundance and reduced the arduous and long-continued hours of labor formerly necessary to subsistence, it has, on the other hand, made a division of society into classes, and has created an apparent but not real divergence of

interest between capitalists and laborers, which must call for wise discretion in the study of economic questions for many years to come.

The subject of this chapter may therefore be rightly divided into two parts: —

First, the work of Boston capital in the development of true manufactures.

Second, the work of Boston capital in the development of the factory system.

The two branches are, it is true, but different phases of the same work, but they mark a very distinct line in the application of capital to the general work of production. One class of work — chiefly the production of textile fabrics — has been carried on mainly by corporations numbering very many stock-holders; the other by individuals, or else by corporations which are only partnerships under a corporate title. In the one class, the function of the operative is to mend the broken ends and to cure the faults in the work of the machine, which almost, if not quite, takes care of itself; in the other the artisan must give direction to the tool or machine, and with trained hand and eye secure the just result. One kind of work becomes a habit, the other calls for constant mental as well as manual practice. In the one the machine, or in other words the capital, is the prime factor, the operative the lesser; in the other the artisan is paramount, and the machine only responds to his special skill.

In the first century and a half of the history of Boston the factory system was almost unknown, but true manufactures had been developed in great diversity.[1] The work was arduous indeed; and as yet all the mechanism required the application not only of the hand to direct, but of the head to control its operations. The master of any and all of the industrial arts was a craftsman who must have been initiated into the "mysteries" of his trade; the journeyman and the apprentice served the master and were taught by him. Human relations were closer than at the present time, and although the conditions of life were harder, and of labor more severe, yet brain, hand, and eye were trained together more adequately and universally than they now are.

The few fortunes acquired before the beginning of the nineteenth century had been mainly gained by merchants in the conduct of foreign commerce.[2] The town of Boston was then the centre of the traffic of a limited section of the interior; domestic exchanges could be made only within the narrow limits traversed by wagons on common roads, — limits a little extended, it is true, on rivers, and by pack-horses. On the sea long distances could be surmounted; but even there, legal obstructions were held in abeyance only until their enforcement became one of the acts which brought on the War of Independence, and the later war with Great Britain in 1812.

[1] [See the chapter on "The Industries of the last Hundred Years," by Messrs. Wright and Wadlin. — Ed.]

[2] [See the chapters on "Finance in Boston," and on "Trade, Commerce, and Navigation." — Ed.]

Up to the War of the Revolution, Boston, like New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other prominent places, was the centre of a homogeneous population peculiar to its own section. With few exceptions manufactures, in the modern conventional sense, it did not possess, nor had its capital then been devoted in any large measure to great works now usually included under that term.

Rope-walks must have been the most conspicuous examples of works within the town in any degree analogous to the modern factory.[1] Outside the limit of what is now the city of Boston the paper-mill constituted another example of a branch of manufacture in the modern sense, and some of the machines in use in the first mills constructed in the early part of the eighteenth century for the preparation of the pulp were the same in principle and almost identical with those that are still used for the same purpose.[2] The felt-maker also conducted the work of making hats in factories not unlike modern examples, only not so large; and that also is one of the few arts which, although now conducted in the factory, still remains in large measure a handicraft, so far as the felt or fur hats now worn are concerned.[3] The use of iron and steel, then as now, gave occupation to large numbers of persons within the town. To what extent the capital of Boston had been devoted to works for mining and smelting the ores and preparing these metals for use cannot now be fully determined; but when it is considered that the grievances which long preceded the final resistance of the citizens of Boston to the oppressive acts of Great Britain had consisted in her attempts to break down the production of iron and steel, of hats, of paper, of woollen cards, of woollen cloth, and other articles now conventionally known as manufactures, we may be very sure that the capital of the citizens of Boston had been largely invested in the iron and steel works, the paper-mills, the felt or hat making, and other branches of industry which constituted the infant manufactures of the country, and which have since been so widely extended; although these works were not to any great extent within the limits of the town.

[1] In 1793 there were fourteen rope factories in the town; but in that year a fire broke out in one of the largest, near Gray's Wharf, destroying it with six others, besides ninety-six other buildings. The selectmen then provided that no more should be constructed in the heart of the town, and tendered the use of the low land west of the Common, where six were built, all of which were burned in 1806; five were rebuilt, and fortunately these were all once more consumed in 1819, which ended the use of that region for such purposes.

[2] Paper-hangings had become such a leading article of Boston manufacture, that in 1790 it was estimated that Boston produced twenty-seven thousand rolls, which sufficed not only to supply the State, but to furnish considerable quantities for other States. [For the beginnings of paper manufacture see the chapter on "Industries," and Vol. II., p. 462, *note*. — Ed.]

[3] The Company of Felt-makers in London petitioned Parliament, in February, 1731, to prohibit the exportation of hats from the American Colonies, representing that foreign markets were supplied from thence, and not a few to Great Britain. Of these obnoxious manufacturers there were reported to be sixteen in Boston; whereupon an act was passed that "no hats or felts, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be put on board any vessel in any place within any of the British plantations, nor be laden upon any horse or other carriage to the intent to be exported from thence to any other plantation or to any other place whatever, upon forfeiture thereof; and the offender shall likewise pay £500 for every such offence."

The ground has been already so fully covered[1] in respect to these early undertakings, that the writer may well devote this chapter mainly to some of the later applications of capital.

One of the most beneficent of these more modern uses of capital was the establishment of what has since become the leading single industry of the city, — the manufacture of ready-made clothing, which was practically begun by the late John Simmons between 1830 and 1835, and soon after taken up on a large scale by Edward Locke, John Gove, Andrew Carney, and others. It gradually extended until it gave employment to 28,935 persons in the year 1875 within the State, of whom about 15,000 were employed in what may be called the clothing factories of Boston.

It has been one of the most complex branches of industry, and it now requires a high order of organizing ability for its successful working. The masters of this art are obliged to inform themselves of the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of each section of the country, in order that they may adapt the material and the shape and size of the garments to the different conditions of the trade, — the tall and spare lumbermen of Maine requiring an entirely different set of shapes, sizes, and materials from the heavy-built descendants of the Dutch farmers of Pennsylvania; the Scandinavian settlers of the Northwest calling for still different kinds of work; and so on throughout the country. When the freedman of the South began to prosper, a demand appeared for yet new and different shapes, sizes, and materials. The work of the clothier does not appeal to the imagination, like the great factory; it is conducted mainly in the upper stories of our high city buildings, and a stranger would only know of its existence as one of the most important applications of capital to manufacturing, if he happened to walk through the streets where the work is done, and witnessed the great crowd of well paid working men and women scattering to their homes at six o'clock in the afternoon. It is a great error to assume that this work is one in which any large number of the operatives are forced to be satisfied with insufficient wages. The poor sewing-woman sews poorly, and receives all that her work is worth. Skilful sewers earn much higher wages than factory operatives, and many enjoy even better conditions of life.

Another beneficent feature of this application of capital is in the distribution of the work over a very wide area. Garments, which have been cut and prepared by the application of most ingenious mechanism, are distributed over the whole area of New England, to be made up and finished; and in the homes of the people, the wives and daughters of the farmers apply their skill to the operation of the sewing-machine, and have developed a true home manufacture which is of great service to them in earning their subsistence.

Although the first invention of the sewing-machine may not be claimed by Boston, the development of one of the first and most successful of these

[1] [See the chapter on "The Industries of the last Hundred Years," by Messrs. Wright and Wadlin. — Ed.]

machines was accomplished here by Messrs. Grover & Baker, who now make beneficent use of the capital which they accumulated in their work.[1] To their inventions, and those of their coadjutors, has been mainly due the possibility of developing the manufacture of clothing in its present phase.

The change in the method of making boots and shoes, from the old fashion of the cobbler to the modern factory, has also been greatly promoted by the application of the skill and capital of Boston. The McKay and Wickersham sewing-machines, and the Sturtevant pegging machinery are examples of Boston inventions which have been of the utmost influence. The revolution began however in 1850, with the application of the Howe and Singer sewing-machines to stitching the upper leather. By these and other applications of science this art has been developed. To what extent Boston capital has been employed in this branch of the modern factory system it is impossible to define. The masters of the craft have changed from city to country, and from country to city, and with each new invention the conditions have changed. The art is singular in this, — that while it is at present, and has long been, the leading industry of the State, it has always been conducted by individual enterprise, and never with success under the corporate system. It requires the close application of personal interest, constant and most intelligent personal direction; and in every branch, from the preparation of the skin and tanning of the hide to the finish of the boot or shoe, there is a necessary combination of mechanism and manual dexterity essential to success. Hence there has always been a marked intellectual activity in the working people in this art, which has distinguished them from many of their associates. In the old Abolition days, when it cost something to be true to the principles of liberty, the shoemakers furnished more than their quota of energetic and aggressive men, and in the final struggle they were not wanting. This branch of industry has had its centre in Boston. It has grown by a process of evolution from the handicraft of the shop, until it has become a rare combination of mechanism and manual skill in the great factory. It is in one respect an example of the greatest efficiency of capital, the amount required for its establishment being very small in ratio to the annual product, and the earnings of the operatives being higher than in any other branch of work that nearly approaches it in magnitude.

Watch-making is another example of an art in which all the conditions have been radically changed by the application of machinery invented in Boston. Prior to 1852, each watch had been a thing by itself, in all its parts a handicraft; but at this time A. L. Denison and Edward Howard conceived the method of applying machine tools of most ingenious kind, and making all the parts interchangeable. Then the watch factory was called into existence. This art is one which, although conducted in the factory system, yet calls for the highest manual dexterity on the part of the men and women who do the work; and also for the application of the higher mathe-

[1] [See the chapter on "The Industries of the last Hundred Years." — Ed.]

matics to the various problems and methods of improvement that constantly occur in it. It has worked a complete change in the markets of the world; and the watches made at Waltham, where Boston capital has in large measure been applied, are adopted in the railway service of India and of other countries, after being subjected to the most exhaustive competition with other kinds.

In connection with this art, another inconspicuous application of Boston capital may be named. When the watches of home manufacture began to be very numerous, a demand sprang up for the little pasteboard boxes in which they are packed. Six years previous to his invention of machines for watch-making Mr. Denison had invented a simple machine for cutting the forms of these boxes. In the year 1850 his brother took charge of this work; soon after, the making of tags, labels, cardboard, and other similar articles was added, most ingenious and substantially unique machinery was applied to the work, and a large export trade was established,—until now more than five hundred persons are employed in Boston, while work is sent out to families in the country, giving regular employment to as many more.

Another application of the factory system may be found in the bag manufacture, established in Boston by Mr. Henry S. Chase, about the year 1850. The woven seamless bag for grain had then but lately come into use, when the application of the sewing-machine called attention to the possibility of meeting the demand for bags for other uses, the scope of which was hardly dreamed of by the projectors of the enterprise. This was in the early days of the sewing-machine, and before the reputation of the standard makers had been made. The plan was conceived of building sewing-machines specially adapted to this work; and this was accomplished by Mr. John E. Bachelder,—a partner with Mr. Chase,—whose inventions, made during its progress, were adopted by the leading makers of other sewing-machines, and constituted an important element in their final success. The next necessity was for a printing-press which should both print the labels upon the cloth and cut it at the same time into lengths and shapes suited to each special purpose. This also was soon accomplished. The work done in Boston is still large; but as the demand for bags is chiefly in the West, the original firm, as well as others, have established large factories in St. Louis, Chicago, and other places, until it is estimated that two hundred thousand bags are now made every day from textile fabrics, to contain flour, hams, salt, and for the innumerable uses to which they are applied. The work has hardly begun, as bags are rapidly displacing barrels in the export traffic in flour, being cheaper, more easily handled, and capable of much more compact stowage. Thus this art forms a not unimportant element in our great export of the product of wheat.

Another application of mechanical science which has become a special branch of work upon the factory system, although seldom named as a

special manufacture, may be found in the elevator, which has become an essential part of the apparatus of every large warehouse and hotel. The first elevator for the use of a hotel was made by the late Otis Tufts of Boston, and applied in the Fifth Avenue Hotel of New York. It worked by means of a large screw operating vertically through the cab; and although quite different in its mechanism from those now in use, this elevator was the germ of a system which has altered all the conditions of the use of city buildings throughout this country, and has greatly changed the conditions affecting the distribution of population.

No record of the application of Boston capital to manufactures would be complete which failed to include the piano. It may not be claimed that Jonas Chickering actually established this work, but to him belongs its great development. He began business on his own account in 1823, and continued in charge of it until his death in 1853, since which time his sons have conducted it. Under this honored name more than sixty thousand pianos have been made since April, 1823. In 1880 nearly three thousand were added to the list.

Another characteristic application of Boston capital to manufactures has been in respect to reed organs. In 1854 Messrs. Mason & Hamlin began business on a very small scale, in the manufacture of melodeons, so called, — that being the best instrument of the class then known. It very soon proved to be an imperfect and unsatisfactory instrument, and experiments were instituted for an improvement. At first, progress was very slow; and it was not until the year 1861 that they succeeded in making a satisfactory cabinet or parlor organ, substantially in its present form. The merits of the new instrument were immediately recognized, and its sale extended not only to all parts of the United States, but to all parts of the civilized world. Others followed the lead of these makers; and the business has increased, until there are manufactured annually in the United States between seventy and eighty thousand cabinet or parlor organs, valued at $5,000,000, or more. Of these the original projectors manufacture between ten and twelve thousand; and a large portion of the remainder is also made in Boston at the present time. In both these branches, — pianos and organs, — various ingenious machines have been applied to several parts of the work; but it still remains in great measure a craft calling for especial skill, and for the application of brain and hand together in order to assure success, — the machinery being the lesser factor, and the special skill of the artisan the greater.

After this consideration of the special branches of work which have been gradually brought into the factory system during a comparatively recent period, — which are but a few of the characteristic branches of manufacture, in the conventional sense, which have originated in Boston, — one may not be surprised to find in the data of Carroll D. Wright's admirable census of Massachusetts for 1875 the proof that the value of the product

of "Manufactures and Related Occupations in Suffolk County" (comprising Boston and Chelsea) exceeded that of any other county in Massachusetts by over $40,000,000. It amounted to $140,809,856, out of a total for the State of $592,331,962.

In another respect it is proved that the principal and most beneficent application of Boston capital to manufactures has been within its own limits, by the fact that the number of persons employed therein in 1875 was larger than in any other county, comprising forty-six thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven, out of a total of two hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and thirty-nine; while the wages or earnings of the persons employed averaged very much higher. The average in the whole State was $475.76 per annum; in Suffolk County, $616.23. The next highest average was in Plymouth County, $472.62; Worcester County next, $453.96; and Middlesex fourth, $452.55.

Boston also stands as the example of the greatest diversity of occupation in the manufacturing and mechanic arts. These establishments vary in their importance, from the single one in which one hundred dollars of capital are devoted to the annual production of one hundred and fifty dollars' worth of "insect bellows" to the three hundred and thirty-four in which somewhat less than five million dollars' worth of capital is applied to the annual manufacture of nearly sixteen million dollars' worth of clothing. They include those devoted to the making of pianos (in which art, as has been said, the late Jonas Chickering first gave reputation to American instruments, and established the name of Boston), as well as those in which Boston crackers are made, — the latter still a handicraft calling for special skill not yet attained in any other city. They comprise among their number the works of Mr. E. S. Ritchie, whose mariner's compass carries the name of Boston, under many a foreign flag, to the great harbors of the world where the flag of our own country now seldom appears.

The number of separate titles under which Mr. Wright listed the manufactures of the city in 1875 was 381; the number of establishments, 2,616; the value of the products, $112,214,147. Under the head of "Related Occupations" the number of titles was 142; of establishments, 3,033; value of products $23,717,357. Total,—titles, 523; establishments, 5,649; value of products, $135,931,504.

Among the counties of Massachusetts, Essex County stands second to Suffolk in the diversity of its occupations; and among the cities, Worcester stands next to Boston.

The application of machinery to the arts of life, the development of manufactures, the concentration of the work under the factory system, the division of labor, and the diversity of occupation which have marked the conditions of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and especially of the town and city of Boston, have been a process of natural and necessary evolution. The various changes which have occurred in this progress have been in some measure effected by war and by legislation. Some branches

of manufacture have been developed more rapidly than they might have been by changes in the laws for the collection of revenue, while others have been retarded or even destroyed by the same statutes. It would be out of place in this work to do more than call attention to this fact, in order that the place of Boston may be defined as the great example, within the State, of that necessary diversity of occupation which must exist among a free and civilized people, whatever the statute policy or method of collecting revenue may be. In like manner in the great cities of the West, — the industrial centres of States in which the possibilities of agriculture are vastly greater than in Massachusetts, — the development of manufactures is proceeding with great rapidity, and many of the applications of machinery and of the factory system which originated with us are now carried on in these Western cities on a yet grander scale. In fact it is rapidly becoming apparent that so long as the legal obstructions to commerce, to ship-building, and ship-owning are permitted to continue in force, the city that is flanked on one side by the sea is at the wrong end of a railroad as compared to its sister city in the interior.

We may now make a brief record of the most conspicuous example of the application of Boston capital to manufactures, using the latter word in its most conventional and limited sense, in its application to the construction of the textile factory. The history of this work is marked by broad lines, and has been well written by many persons; but this memorial would be incomplete without a repetition of some of its most salient points.

Although the linen fabric in which the mummies of Egypt are wrapped is the oldest known example of the textile art, it is fair to infer that a fabric made of cotton was the first spun and woven by human fingers, as cotton is indigenous in Central Asia, whence our ancestors are supposed to have migrated; and also because the fibre of cotton requires no artificial preparation, like wool and flax, in order that it may be spun. It is in the power of any one to spin a thread with the fingers from a ripe boll of unginned cotton, then to double and twist it into a strong strand, and by tying the ends of a warp to a set of reeds, to throw in the weft by means of a "picker stick," which might be prepared with a flint implement so as to serve its purpose. In the course of the development of the art there have been only two original inventions which can be traced to their source, — the extension of the strand, commonly called "spinning by rollers," which was applied by Arkwright, though probably not invented by him; and the saw-gin, invented by Eli Whitney. All the other appliances consist of modifications of pre-historic machines. These two inventions created the modern cotton factory, yet both are still imperfect in important particulars; and the cotton fabric which meets the highest requirements of art is still the product of the human finger and of the hand loom, — the Dacca muslin of India, sometimes called "woven wind."

The germ of the modern cotton factory was established by Samuel Slater, the son of a land agent of Jedediah Stratt, the partner of Arkwright. He had been an apprentice in the "art of cotton spinning," and, migrating to this country in the latter part of the last century, became not only the founder of the art of cotton spinning, but, as has been well said by Mr. John L. Hayes in one of his articles on the textile arts, he also became the founder of "the manufacture of American textile machinery;" and thus not only established the modern cotton factory, but the modern woollen and worsted factory as well.

The germ of the woollen factory had existed from a very early date in the numerous fulling-mills in which the homespun cloth of our ancestors was finished, and at a later period in the carding-mills in which the wool was prepared for spinning on the hand-wheel; but there was no complete example of the modern woollen factory in all its parts until 1830, when the Middlesex Mills were constructed, mainly by Boston capital, at Lowell.

The first application of power to the spinning of wool had been made at Peacedale, R. I., in 1819, in a factory established in 1800 by Rowland Hazard, and by his sons Isaac P. and Rowland G., the latter of whom still devotes his great ability not only to the material but to the mental progress of the country. The power-loom was also first introduced for weaving broad woollen goods in the same factory in 1828. The woollen manufacture is almost coëval with the settlement of the country, and the prototype of the modern factory was to be found, as already said, in the fulling and carding mills from a very early date. In 1737, two thousand persons, or about one tenth part of the population of Boston, were engaged in making cards for carding wool, to supply the need of New England.

Up to 1814 the work of the cotton factory had been confined to spinning yarn which was woven upon hand-looms in the homes of the people; but a little later the power-loom was introduced and applied to cotton fabrics by the late Francis C. Lowell of Boston, whose attention had been called to it while dwelling abroad in 1811 and 1812, and who returned to this country in 1813. He at once found associates among his fellow-citizens of Boston; and, securing the services of Paul Moody, began the construction of the modern cotton factory at Waltham. Soon followed the founding of Lowell: the starting of the Merrimack Mills, in September, 1823, completed the introduction of the cotton manufacture into the United States in its modern form. To repeat the names of Jackson, Boott, Lawrence, Lowell, Batchelder, and many others, would be but to name those who succeeded the great merchants of an older time, and by whom the capital of Boston was in part diverted from the commerce in which it had been mainly engaged, up to the time of the embargo of 1809–1811 and the war of Great Britain in 1812, to the establishment of textile manufactures in the modern factory. These restrictions upon commerce, as well as the interruption of it caused by the war, had produced great reverses of fortune and hardships among the people of New England; and the estab-

NATHAN APPLETON.[1]

lishment of the factory system applied to textile fabrics aided greatly in restoring prosperity to the people.

It was not until a much later date than the first inception of this method that it became the subject of political contention, and led to the great legis-

[1] [This portrait follows a likeness by Stuart, belonging to Mr. Appleton's son-in-law, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and is by his kind permission engraved. Mr. Appleton was born Oct. 6, 1779, and died July 14, 1861. See the memoir of Mr. Appleton in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, October, 1861, p. 249, prepared by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop; also the latter's *Speeches*, 1852–1867, p. 502; the notice of Mr. Appleton in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1862; and *Monumental Memorials of the Appleton Family*, by Dr. John Appleton, 1867, who also issued in 1864 a tabular pedigree of the family. Mr. Appleton's children by his first wife, Maria Theresa Gold of Pittsfield, were: Thomas Gold (H.C. 1831), well known for his benefactions and interest in art; Mary, who married R. J. Mackintosh, son of Sir James; Charles Sedgwick, who died 1835; and Fanny, wife of Mr. Longfellow, who died July 10, 1861. By a second wife, Harriot C. Sumner, Mr. Appleton was the father of William S., Harriot, and Nathan. — Ed.]

lative conflicts which have not yet ended. Nathan Appleton and Abbott Lawrence, two of the founders of the factory system, with other men whose names are as historic as these two in connection with the work done by Boston capital, took part, Oct. 2, 1820, in a great meeting in Faneuil Hall, in protesting against the perversion of the revenue system in such way as to make the development of the factory system the main purpose of the statute and the collection of revenue the incident. James Perkins, Samuel P. Gardner, William Shimmin, John Dorr, and William Sturgis were the committee who framed the resolutions, and Daniel Webster was the speaker who sustained them. The identity of the interests of merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and mechanics was never presented more forcibly before or since. Mr. Webster deprecated the vacillating policy which might ensue if the measures then pressed mainly by the South were adopted. He could "hardly conceive of anything worse than a policy which should place the great interests of the country in hostility to one another, — a policy which should keep them in constant conflict, and bring them every year to fight their battles in the committee rooms of the House of Representatives at Washington. . . . For his part, he believed that the principle of leaving such things very much to their own course, in a country like ours, was the only true policy; and that we could no more improve the order and habit and composition of society by an artificial balancing of trades and occupations than we could improve the natural atmosphere by means of the condensers and rarefiers of the chemists."

This remarkable speech, which is not included in any published collection of Webster's speeches, and can be referred to only as it appeared in the columns of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of Oct. 11, 1820, represented the solid sense of the great merchants as well as of the great manufacturers who had introduced the textile arts into Massachusetts under the factory system. Unfortunately their views did not prevail; the measures forced on New England by the South with the hope of making an almost exclusive home market for cotton were carried, and the capital of Boston and of Massachusetts was adjusted to the new conditions. Up to that time a very simple and moderate revenue system had prevailed, under which all the arts of peace had proceeded in their development in due order; the reaction which ensued after the war of 1812 had been overcome; but since then the application of capital to manufactures has been subject to constant vacillation and change in the revenue laws. Since 1820 there have been thirty-three separate acts of legislation for the collection of revenue from customs, many of them gravely altering the conditions, especially in the textile arts.

But the application of new capital to the new conditions has been constant; and although we have now the most complex and obstructive system of taxation, both National and State, that ever prevailed in a civilized country, — a system which must be changed as the absolutely necessary condition precedent to any true reform of the civil service, — our manufac-

tures, including textile fabrics as well as all others, are on a firm foundation and fairly prosperous.

The dangers of artificially or prematurely imposing the factory system upon the State by special legislation, which Mr. Webster and his associates so much feared, have not been as great as he anticipated. He said that "two generations, in his opinion, would change the whole face of New England society." In little more than two generations since that speech was made, the face of New England society has been changed in even greater measure than Mr. Webster could have foreseen; the whole system of agriculture which he then knew has been profoundly altered by the introduction of the railroad; foreign commerce, of the kind that he witnessed and sustained, has almost disappeared, and the factory system has been adopted not only in textile manufactures, but in almost all other branches of industry; yet the State and the city still maintain their prosperity, and the changes of legislation have only altered the distribution of property and changed in some measure the conditions of progress.

At that time no rule had become established, but for many years after, and as late as 1840, the amount of capital needed to establish a textile factory was more than double what is now required; the customary hours of labor were thirteen, sometimes even fourteen per day, against ten at the present time; the labor was continuous, and the product of yarn or cloth was only one half what it is now per day, — less than one half what it now is per hour, — while wages were only one half what they now are. The factory was low studded and ill ventilated, and all the conditions of the work were arduous.

As the obstructions to commerce caused by the war, the embargo, and revenue changes diverted capital from its previous uses, the occupations of the factory took the place of those which had previously been followed, and for a long period the textile factories, as well as others, were filled almost wholly by the natives of New England. As late as 1860 there was here and there a cotton or woollen factory in which the operatives were mostly native; but with the application of machinery to other pursuits, and the greater demands of trade, work was found, especially for women, either at higher wages or else under conditions of life which the American women preferred. Presently the factory operatives became mostly of foreign birth, — English, Irish, and German; and a little later their places were again taken by the French Canadians, who now constitute the larger proportion of the operatives in the textile factories which are worked by Boston capital.

Among the strange anomalies of our day, reference may be made to the singular fact that a section of country may still be reached within forty-eight hours' ride from Boston which is now only just being opened by the railroad, and which neither the factory system nor the fabrics of the factory itself have yet penetrated. In the very heart of the country, a sparse population inhabiting the fertile valleys of the Alleghanies and the hill-sides of the lateral mountain ranges of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Caro-

linas still clothe themselves in the product of the hand-loom, and the whirr of the spinning-wheel may be heard now, as it was of old in New England, in every household. Cut off from their fellows by the surrounding pall of slavery, the free people of these mountains have brought the industry of the eighteenth, and some of the customs of the seventeenth, down even to the end of the nineteenth century; so that one may study all the changes which have occurred in the industry of New England in two hundred years by passing from the heart of western North Carolina northerly through Virginia and Maryland to Pennsylvania. Just as he may find between the top of Roan Mountain in North Carolina and the sea toward the east nearly all the flora and fauna which may be found from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, so he may pass from the spinning-wheel, the hand-loom, the domestic still, and the wayside iron-furnace worked with charcoal, through small yarn-mills and coarse weaving-mills and by the lesser iron-works to the larger factories of northern Virginia and Maryland, until he reaches the great factories and works of Pennsylvania.

In this short journey he may witness the working of the great economic laws by which human welfare is assured in the end, however much it may have been retarded by obstructive statutes enforcing slavery or preventing commerce among men and nations. He may prove one proposition which underlies all progress; namely, that the more completely the productions of the factory, the field, the forest, or the mine are compassed by the application of machinery, the less the number of persons needed in the art, the shorter the hours of labor, the higher the wages or earnings, and the lower the cost of the finished commodity. In a seven-days' journey the citizen of Boston may still study the industrial facts of two hundred and fifty years' progress, and witness with his own eyes most of the arduous conditions of life to which his ancestors were subjected; while the citizens of the late slave-stricken States may in an equal time, by visiting New England, find evidence of the opportunity for welfare and progress which has been opened to them only within the present generation by the removal of the curse of slavery.

The writer has attempted to bring into view the necessary development of manufactures in a free community; first, as handicrafts, sometimes pursued in the factory, but mainly in the workshops and homes of the people; second, in the modern factory, in which complex machinery operated by water or steam power is applied, and the work is so divided that it may happen that a single small cam must pass through various processes and machines operated by sixty different persons, before it is ready for its place in the sewing-machine of which it forms a part.

This development has proceeded in Boston under the grave disadvantages of frequent change in the system of national taxation, by which the direction in which its citizens might safely use their capital has been constantly altered. It has witnessed many periods like those predicted by Mr. Webster in the great speech to which reference has been made, when

"agriculturists have been taxed to-day to sustain manufactures, commerce taxed to-morrow to sustain agriculture, and then impositions proposed upon both manufactures and agriculture to sustain commerce," by means of subsidies and bounties. The first chapter of the next Memorial History may record the fact, that, soon after this Memorial was written, the conclusion had become general which was presented by Mr. Webster more than sixty years since, as the spokesman of the great merchants and manufacturers of Boston by whom that Faneuil Hall meeting was then called, "that when government had exhausted its invention in these modes of legislation, it found the result less favorable than the original and natural course of things," and they were then given up.

Fortunately for this nation, the perpetuity of the Union of these States was assured by that provision of the Constitution which forbids any State law being passed, interfering with or obstructing commerce between the several States. The commerce of a continent thus united must ever be vastly greater than any foreign traffic across the sea; and under its beneficent working the conditions of manufacturing in Boston, and the application of its capital, have been fostered and promoted more than they could be harmed by the interruption to its foreign commerce, on which the town so much depended in its early history. The railroad has overcome the obstacles of time and distance; and by bringing the cost of moving a year's subsistence of flour and meat a thousand miles to the measure of a single day's work of a good mechanic, it has effected a vast development of manufactures in and around the city, thus giving employment to persons who without this power would have been forced to labor arduously in the effort to glean a more scanty subsistence from our sterile soil. Coincident with the working of the railway have come the application of steam power, the use of gas, the elevator, and the application of complex machinery to every variety of work. Under the combined action of these forces the upper stories of the great warehouses of the new city have become one vast factory.

But the necessity or convenience of living near their work has caused an unwholesome concentration of the working people in the narrow streets of the older parts of the city. Within the municipal limits, however, are still great areas of almost unoccupied territory, in which the mink may be trapped and musk-rats are the most numerous inhabitants. When the next Memorial History is written, the record of the last two decades of the nineteenth century will cover the effects of the telephone, of the elevated railroad, of the diffusion of steam-power over wide areas, of the electric light, and perhaps of the transmission of power by electricity. It may then, possibly, be written that at about the present date, or a little later, the manufactures of Boston were moved from the upper stories of the crowded centre, and were spread over the whole area of its territory in low and broad factories, well lighted and ventilated, to which the power and the light were transmitted from the seaboard where the coal was landed; and that at the same time the working people were transferred from the unwholesome

streets, courts, and tenement-houses in which they had been confined to detached dwellings, each occupying its own small parcel of land; while the owners and managers remained in the central offices, using the telephone in the direction of the work, and passing quickly to the factory over elevated roadways, free from the obstruction of snow or of the city traffic, and on cars worked by electricity.

To this record of the change in the city factory system, it may perhaps be added that the rediscovered method of saving green crops in pits had made it possible for the working people in the factories to spend the greater leisure which the constant improvement in machinery in their factory work had enabled them to enjoy, in keeping cows and poultry, and in establishing gardens on small parcels of land which had never before sufficed for such purposes. In such event, it may be written that the more the few had gained in wealth the more the many gained in welfare; that both capitalist and laborer had learned, once for all, that all interests are harmonious; and that personal liberty, under laws enacted for the sole purposes of promoting education and establishing justice, with the least possible interference with the freely chosen pursuits of the people, had proved to be the key to the greatest prosperity of all classes of society.

Edward Atkinson

CHAPTER V.

THE CANAL AND RAILROAD ENTERPRISE OF BOSTON.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR.

Member of the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners from 1869 to 1879; and Chairman of the Board from 1872 to 1879.

THE Erie Canal was opened in 1825. The success of that great public work, and the consequences more or less remote which it involved were at the time matter for very serious reflection to those having the material future of Boston at heart. So far as the interior of the continent and the commerce of the great lakes were concerned, these were questions by themselves. They hardly came within the New England business horizon. What the more far-seeing Bostonians then had in view was the supremacy of their city as a local centre. This, the success of the Erie Canal greatly jeopardized; for that canal was part of a growing system of interior communication, which system had now in turn received from it a strong impetus. Canal navigation, however, naturally followed the course of the rivers, and none of the considerable New England rivers were tributary to Boston. On the contrary, the Blackstone flowed by Providence, and the Connecticut by Hartford; both of which towns were but stopping-places on the way to New York. It was obvious, therefore, that a natural development of any New England canal-system would make all the interior counties of Massachusetts tributary to New York, and leave Boston isolated.

The problem of 1825 was, then, how to overcome, or, if not to overcome, at least to counteract in so far as might be, the natural disadvantages of situation. Nor was this problem now presented for the first time. The scale was merely somewhat enlarged. As respects diversion of traffic, the Merrimac had once threatened to be to Boston what the Blackstone and Connecticut were now becoming. Improvements in the channel of that river had made it inevitable that, unless something was done to control events, the whole interior of New Hampshire would look to Portsmouth as its point of distribution, instead of to Boston. The Middlesex Canal had then solved the difficulty. This, the first considerable thing of the sort undertaken in America, had been projected very shortly after the close of the Revolutionary struggle: indeed, it was characteristic of the people that just so soon as politics and war ceased to occupy their whole thoughts, their

surplus mental activity directed itself towards questions of internal improvement. The idea of a canal, intended to connect the upper waters of the Merrimac with Boston Harbor, was then conceived.

The act incorporating the company authorized to build this canal passed the Legislature in June, 1793, and received the signature of Governor Hancock, then in the last year of his life. Among the corporators were James Winthrop of Cambridge, Oliver Prescott of Groton, James Sullivan of Boston, and Jonathan Porter of Medford. No amount of capital or number of shares of stock was fixed. The original plan was to connect the Merrimac at some point in Chelmsford with the Mystic at a point in Medford; but the charter was subsequently so amended that the southern outlet was at tidewater in Charlestown, on the Charles. The surveys were made by an English engineer named Weston, educated in the James Brindley school of canal constructors; and it is said that the first levelling instrument ever made use of in America was used in the location of the Middlesex Canal.[1] The whole process of the work was superintended by Loammi Baldwin, the elder of the name. Baldwin was a native of Woburn, and had been a colonel in the Revolutionary army. A son of his, also a civil engineer, later bore the same name and title, which thus became closely associated with all the early schemes of internal improvement in Massachusetts.[2]

Twenty-seven miles in length, this canal, in going northward from tidewater, ascended one hundred and seven feet by means of thirteen locks. It reached its highest altitude in North Billerica, where it drew its supply of water from the Concord River. Then crossing that river it descended twenty-one feet, by means of three locks, striking the Merrimac above the Pawtucket Falls, in what was then East Chelmsford, subsequently, in 1824, incorporated as Lowell. The bed of the canal was four feet deep and thirty wide. It was navigated by boats of twenty-four tons burden, which occupied twelve hours in the average passage through it; and, by means of improvements in the Merrimac, water-connection was made as far north as Concord, New Hampshire, some seventy-five miles from Boston.

While the Middlesex Canal was in course of construction, a project for a similar work to connect Worcester County with the seaboard at Boston was also agitated. Its route even had been surveyed by General Knox, of Revolutionary fame, in 1791. It encountered however another project, much better designed, for a canal along the Blackstone to Providence; and, between the jealousies excited by the two conflicting schemes, nothing at this time came of either.

[1] Stuart's *Civil and Military Engineers of America*, p. 129.

[2] The surname is, however, more familiar in another connection. One autumn day, while surveying the route of the Middlesex Canal in Wilmington, old Col. Baldwin chanced across an apple tree, the fruit of which was very red and handsome; upon trial he found it, also, to be so excellent in flavor that he thereafter took pains to grow an orchard from that tree, which thus became the progenitor of the famous Baldwin apple; which seems likely to perpetuate its discoverer's name long after the canal he built, already abandoned and filled up, shall be forgotten. [See Colonel Wilder's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

In 1825, therefore, the whole practical experience of the people of Boston in the matter of canals had been limited to the Middlesex. Neither had that experience been of at all an encouraging nature. The canal itself, and the river improvements of the Merrimac necessarily involved in the enterprise, cost together upwards of half a million of dollars, — a very large sum for the time, when the whole assessed valuation of Boston was but fifteen millions. It meant probably much more than an investment of twenty millions would have meant in 1880. Begun in 1794, the canal was opened to traffic in 1803, and during the next thirty years was of great commercial use in bringing to Boston the lumber and produce of the region tributary to the upper Merrimac, and carrying general merchandise back; but the territorial area thus drained and supplied was after all insignificant in extent, and neither rich nor populous. The gross annual income of the canal company was accordingly never much over $20,000, and during the first fifteen years of operation no dividends were paid on its stock. After 1818, and until the railroad was built, they averaged about one and a half per cent a year. They then ceased altogether. Financially, therefore, the undertaking was far from being a success. After 1835 traffic fell rapidly off, and the receipts failed to meet the expenses of repair; consequently, business was finally suspended on June 1, 1853, and in 1859 the charter of the company was declared forfeited.[1]

The Middlesex Canal had, therefore, been twenty-two years in operation, when in October, 1825, Governor De Witt Clinton, of New York, made his triumphal passage in a state barge from Lake Ontario to the mouth of the Hudson, and symbolized the union of the two by mingling their waters. The people of Massachusetts, however, had not waited for this event before they began to bestir themselves. While practical men were turning over the plans and estimates for a canal like the Middlesex, as far at least as Worcester County, and possibly to the Connecticut, some of the more visionary had suddenly enlarged the horizon, and were looking to the Hudson. In fact, stimulated thereto by the eager confidence of these believers in the possibilities of the future, the Legislature had already, by a resolve which bore date on Feb. 25, 1825, provided for a commission "to ascertain the practicability of making a canal from Boston Harbor to Connecticut River," and "of extending the same to some point on the Hudson River in the State of New York, in the vicinity of the junction of the Erie Canal with that river." The report of that commission, a bulky document, for those days, of two hundred and sixty pages, was transmitted to the Legislature by Governor Lincoln, on Jan. 11, 1826. Subsequent experience has lent a peculiar interest and significance to it. It illustrates very forcibly the difference between estimates and actual cost.

[1] [Caleb Eddy published an *Historical Sketch of the Middlesex Canal* in 1843; and this and various other bibliographical items regarding it are given in Hunnewell's *Bibliography of Charlestown*, 1880. See also Amory's *James Sullivan*, i. and ii.; and Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, and *History of Middlesex County*. — Ed.]

The surveys were made by the younger Colonel Loammi Baldwin, the elder having died in 1807, and were in two parts. One covered the route from Boston to the Connecticut River; the other, that from the Connecticut to the Hudson. The eastern part of the proposed work presented, comparatively speaking, few difficulties. There were two practicable lines found, — the southern by way of Worcester, and the northern by way of Fitchburg. The northern, or Miller's River route, was finally recommended for two reasons: (1) because the Berkshire Hills, west of the Connecticut, could be passed only at one point, and that in direct continuation of the Miller's River route; and (2) because it was "to be presumed that when boats have passed down the [Connecticut] River over the serious difficulties which exist from the mouth of Miller's River, they will continue on to Hartford, — the channel being clear and the distance short, — rather than proceed to Boston; and consequently all the country above Miller's River, instead, as is ardently desired, of looking to the latter city as a great market for sale and purchase, may gradually seek and ultimately find one in another direction, which would render a canal that shall intersect Connecticut River at Springfield of little comparative consequence to Boston."

A strong preference accordingly was expressed for the northern line. The rise and fall to be overcome was reported at one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six feet, calling for about four hundred locks. The approximate cost of the work was estimated at $3,000,000, — of which $20,000, it was thought, would suffice for land damages and water rights, and $20,000 more for building the necessary reservoirs. The cost of the canal proper was estimated at an average of $8,000 per mile.

Crossing the Connecticut, the problem became in one sense far more difficult to solve, though in another sense it was almost distressingly simple. There was but one point at which the Berkshire range could be penetrated by a canal at all, and that was at the point where the Deerfield River, on the east side of the Hoosac Mountain, and the Hoosac River, on its west side, are but four miles apart, — the point where the Hoosac Tunnel now is, the idea of which was thus first suggested. The canal-tunnel project was adopted by Colonel Baldwin as the only alternative to a system of locks crossing the hills through the Stamford and Readsborough gorge in the same vicinity, but beyond the Vermont line. Not that he considered this last method of overcoming the difficulty at all impracticable. On the contrary, his surveys, he claimed, made its feasibility very probable. His objections were based on the increased length of route involved, the consequent cost, and the loss of time in operating. There would have to be, he argued, two hundred and twenty locks in eighteen miles of canal, requiring two days in the passage. The cost of these extra eighteen miles of lockage was estimated at $2,090,000. The tunnel, on the contrary, would require only one hour and twenty minutes in its passage, "provided it is furnished with a towing path, which should be the case."

The cost of this tunnel, Colonel Baldwin then went on to report, "it

is difficult to ascertain with much exactness, although great exertions have been made to collect information on the subject." In view, however, of the subsequent experience of the State in piercing that very mountain, Colonel Baldwin's now long-forgotten original estimate is one of the curiosities of engineering literature. It was made, it is true, when the purchasing value of the dollar, as respects both labor and material, was much greater than it now is; but on the other hand this advantage was far more than off-set by the facts that tunnelling had not then become a science, and that the work was to be done by hand-drilling, with the use of no explosive more powerful than gunpowder. Indeed, it may, in the light of subsequent experience, well be doubted whether under such circumstances it was, humanly speaking, possible to tunnel the mountain at any cost. Colonel Baldwin, however, made his estimates with caution, availing himself of all the light which experience could then afford. He said: "In a tunnel four miles in length, of the size named, there will be two hundred and eleven thousand two hundred cubic yards of stone to excavate, which at $4.25 per cubic yard amounts to $920,832." But in reaching this result the highest price which any tunnel has cost per cubic yard had been assumed, in order to put his estimate "beyond a doubt." He then added: "Thus it appears that the construction of a tunnel will be $1,169,168 less than the expense of crossing the mountain in Vermont."

These conclusions did not at the time pass unchallenged. David Henshaw, a prominent Democratic politician, afterward collector of the port of Boston, argued in the columns of the *Courier*, that on one basis of estimate the time required to complete the work would be fifty-two years; and upon another basis it would be one hundred and eighty-two years. The last estimate would probably, under the circumstances of the time, have proved the more nearly accurate of the two, had the work been attempted; which it fortunately was not. The idea, however, thus thrown out by Colonel Baldwin obtained a lodgment in the public mind. It was, it is true, years before it germinated; but when it did germinate, as will presently be seen, it gave in later times and under altered conditions a false and disastrous direction to the thoughts and energies of the State. Just fifty years[1] after Colonel Baldwin's report was presented, the Hoosac Tunnel was opened through the mountain from side to side. Instead, however, of having proved "not more difficult than the cut on the 'Mountain Ridge' on the Erie Canal," which would have made its total expense $370,000, it had in fact cost at least thirty times that amount, and some ten-fold that original estimate which was "beyond a doubt." And yet Colonel Baldwin's report was extremely conservative in tone, and undoubtedly justified by everything,—except the stubborn facts of subsequent experience.

The entire cost of the canal from Boston to the Hudson, including the tunnel, was estimated at $6,023,172. The commissioners of 1825, therefore, presented as part of their report a financial scheme. As it was proposed to

[1] February 9, 1875.

construct only the canal to the Connecticut at once, the amount required was but $3,000,000, — the annual interest upon which, estimated at $150,000, was to be provided for by a canal fund. This fund it was proposed to raise from six different sources, the discussion of one of which — a State lottery — affords a suggestive illustration of the great progress in ethics, as well as in finance, which has since been made in Massachusetts.[1]

The report of the canal commissioners was laid before the Legislature in January, 1826. Perhaps that body was alarmed at the magnitude of the scheme; or it may have been discouraged at the length of time which would be required to carry it out: possibly the argument in regard to lotteries failed to commend itself to all. In any event nothing further was done; and, in disregard of the Governor's recommendations, not only was a resolve authorizing further surveys laid upon the table, but that under which the surveys had already been made was repealed. The canal project was, however, by no means abandoned; it had its friends, and they were active and in earnest. It so happened, however, that in this very Legislature it encountered another project from which it would hardly have been supposed that it had anything to fear, but which soon gave a wholly new direction to men's thoughts.

On June 17 in the previous year the corner-stone of the Bunker-Hill Monument had been laid by Lafayette. The occasion was a memorable one, and among those who took part in it was Gridley Bryant, a builder by trade, but also a self-educated engineer. Born in Scituate in 1789, Bryant was at this time thirty-six years of age; and in the ceremony of laying the corner-stone he officiated as master builder. A man of the George Stephenson type, — inventive, energetic, and full of resource, — Bryant had

[1] The commissioners say: "Enquiries have been prosecuted to ascertain the sum annually expended in this State for the purchase of lottery tickets, and from the best information which can be obtained, there is no doubt that it amounts to over $250,000; and this large expenditure has been made when there is a law of the Commonwealth prohibiting the traffic altogether; which shews conclusively that the public voice is against legislative interference or restraint.

"Having been arranged under the generic term *gambling* an effort has been made, from the purest and best motives, to discountenance and suppress lotteries; but it now becomes a serious question of investigation, whether too harsh an epithet has not been given to one of the ordinary modes of raising funds, under the sanction of the highest legislative enactments, both in Europe and this country, for literary, eleemosynary, and various other great and excellent purposes. If it has been proved that the legal countenance which this State has *formerly* given still induces a disregard of existing statutes, is it not more politic so to amend them as shall secure to the Commonwealth those benefits which are now derived by other States?

"It may be said, with sufficient plausibility, that if an unabatable evil does exist, let it be converted to the best possible purposes. All constructive crimes, including such as come within the antiquated systems of sumptuary jurisprudence, are not deemed by the people as immoral, *per se;* and it is an axiom in ethics as well as legislation, that doubtful or imaginary offences should not hastily be made penal. . . .

"The Commissioners would be the last among their fellow-citizens to sanction immorality, or impair the omnipotence of justice; but with deference offer such remarks as may tend to the development of truth, the confirmation of what shall be found salutary, and the rejection of that which is supererogatory in our generally most excellent code of laws.

"Should a lottery be resorted to as one of the means of raising funds, it can be affirmed with confidence that twenty thousand dollars may be thus annually obtained, and probably a much greater sum." — *Report*, pp. 177, 178.

read accounts of what was then going on in England, and bethought himself how he could turn it to use in the work he had in hand here. That work was the building of the monument; and long after its completion he thus told his own story: —

"I had, previous to [the laying of the corner-stone] purchased a stone-quarry (the funds being furnished by Dr. John C. Warren) for the express purpose of procuring the granite for constructing this monument. This quarry was in Quincy, nearly four

GRIDLEY BRYANT.[1]

miles from water-carriage. This suggested to me the idea of a railroad (the Manchester and Liverpool Railroad being in contemplation at that time, but was not begun until the spring following); accordingly, in the fall of eighteen hundred and twenty-five I consulted Thomas H. Perkins, William Sullivan, Amos Lawrence, Isaac P. Davis, and David Moody, all of Boston, in reference to it. These gentlemen thought the project visionary and chimerical; but, being anxious to aid the Bunker-Hill Monument, consented that I might see what could be done. I awaited the meeting of our Legislature in the winter of 1825–26, and after every delay and obstruction

[1] [This cut follows a likeness owned by his son, G. J. F. Bryant, Esq., and painted when his father was about forty-five years old. The memoir of Gridley Bryant in Stuart's *Lives and Works of the Civil and Military Engineers of America*, which contains another likeness of him taken at a later age, was printed separately in Boston in 1871. — Ed.]

that could be thrown in the way, I finally obtained a charter, although there was great opposition in the House. The questions were asked, 'What do we know about railroads? Who ever heard of such a thing? Is it right to take people's land for a project that no one knows anything about? We have corporations enough already.' Such and similar objections were made, and various restrictions were imposed; but it finally passed by a small majority only. Unfavorable as the charter was, it was admitted that it was obtained by my exertions; but it was owing to the munificence and public spirit of Colonel T. H. Perkins that we were indebted for the

THOMAS HANDASYD PERKINS.[1]

whole enterprise. None of the first-named gentlemen ever paid any assessments, and the whole stock finally fell into the hands of Colonel Perkins. . . . I surveyed several routes from the quarry purchased (called the Bunker-Hill Quarry) to the nearest tide-water; and finally the present location was decided upon. I commenced the work on the first day of April, 1826, and on the seventh day of October following the first train of cars passed over the whole length of the road."

[1] [An engraving of a portrait of Colonel Perkins by Gambadella is prefixed to T. G. Cary's *Life of Thomas H. Perkins*, 1856. It was painted about 1837, when the Colonel was seventy-seven years old. The above cut follows a photograph of it furnished by Colonel Henry Lee. The original belongs to Colonel Perkins's eldest daughter, Mrs. Samuel Cabot of Brookline. Mason, *Stuart*, p. 239, records portraits of Colonel T. H. Perkins by that artist, owned by Mrs. T. G. Cary and by Mrs. Wm. H. Gardiner. Both of these show an earlier age; as does a fine full-length by Sully, owned by the Boston Athenæum. — ED.]

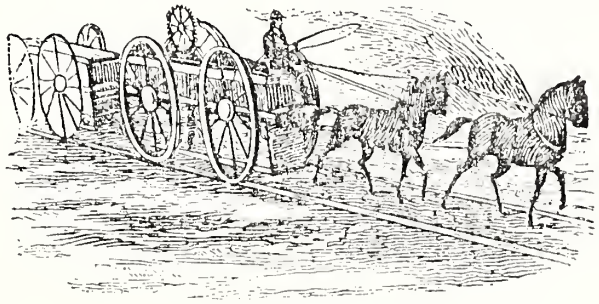
Bryant might also have added that this event, brought about by him, gave the death-blow to the great Massachusetts Canal project, backed as it was by surveys and estimates and the reports of commissioners, and the recommendations of the executive itself. A railroad party had, in fact, already come into existence as opposed to the canal party; and the opposing forces in the Legislature so held each other in equilibrium that it seemed for a time as if nothing at all would be done. Governor Lincoln, in his message at the opening of the June session of the Legislature, had called attention to this fact; and, himself a warm advocate of canals, endeavored to point out that, in urging their construction, no "*exclusive* character of improvement [was] contemplated." The advocates of railroads were in a majority in the House, while the Senate was conservative. A petition had been presented by Colonel Perkins and others praying that surveys might be made for a railway from Boston to the Hudson; and on motion of Dr. Abner Phelps, one of the representatives from Boston, a joint committee to sit during the recess, and "consider the practicability and expediency of constructing" such a railway, was ordered on the part of the House. The order, however, was non-concurred in by the Senate, and had finally to be so amended as to provide for a select committee of the House alone. It was composed of Dr. Abner Phelps, George W. Adams, of Boston, — a son of President J. Q. Adams, — and Emory Washburn, of Worcester, afterward Governor. This was the first concerted action looking to the construction of a commercial railway through the State. That it was now taken was also unquestionably due to Bryant's success in obtaining his charter for the smaller enterprise, which, having a distinct object in view both practical and patriotic, had not aroused conservative apprehensions.[1]

At the time, Bryant's work excited an almost unequalled interest throughout the country, and it is still mentioned in every school history of the United States as the commencement of an epoch. It was in fact a pioneer American undertaking, the originator of which had closely studied that English railway literature which was then coming into existence. Although Stephenson had already, in a rude way, introduced locomotive steam-power on the Stockton & Darlington road, Bryant made no attempt at anything of that sort. Indeed, had he done so he would have

[1] How completely uninformed the public mind then was on the subject of railways is, however, well illustrated by the following incident. Dr. Phelps was an enthusiast, and, like most enthusiasts, probably somewhat wearisome to others. It so happened that about the time his special committee was appointed John Adams died. A number of members of the Legislature went out to attend his funeral at Quincy; and, after it was over, they returned to Boston by way of Milton, in order to look at Gridley Bryant's railway, then in process of construction. Dr. Phelps was of the party; as also was Mr. Webster. The two had some conversation on the new project, which resulted in the latter finally remarking: "Well, it is certainly a subject for very grave consideration whether roads for general travel cannot be made as you propose." A less profound or more non-committal response in reply to a man possessed with a hobby could not easily have been framed. Yet Dr. Phelps, who apparently had been made somewhat sensitive by ridicule, derived from it, as he afterward stated in a letter giving an account of these events, "great encouragement and satisfaction."

ruined his enterprise. His views were confined to horse power, and he built an improved tramway rather than a modern railroad. The really memorable thing about it was his ingenuity in devising the appliances necessary to its successful operation. These were very remarkable, including as they did the switch, the portable derrick, the turn-table, and the movable truck for the eight-wheel railroad-car. All these contrivances subsequently passed into general use; and the movable truck having, six years later, — in 1834, — been patented by other parties, became the subject of a litigation which occupied the courts for five years, and cost, it is said, some $250,000. The claim of Bryant as its inventor was sustained. He had, however, no legal right to any royalty on its use, nor did he ever receive anything from it. He died quite poor in 1867.

The Granite Railway, including its branches, was four miles in length, and cost $50,000. It began at the quarry end with an inclined plane, by



THE GRANITE RAILWAY.[1]

means of which eighty-four feet vertical fall was here accomplished in three hundred and fifteen feet of gradual descent. The road then dropped gently down to tide-water level by grades of sixty-six, thirteen, and twenty-six feet to the mile. As the traffic was all in the direction of these grades, single horses could of course move with ease just as heavy loads as the structure would bear; the only difficulties being to retard the loaded cars going down, and to draw the unloaded cars back. The road was constructed of stone sleepers, or ties, eight feet apart, upon which were laid longitudinal wooden rails, protected by strap-iron plates three inches wide and one fourth of an inch thick. The wooden rails were subsequently replaced by stone. This railway was operated, always by horse-power, for about forty years. At last, it having then been for a time in disuse, its franchise was purchased by the Old Colony Railroad Company; the ancient structure was completely demolished, and a modern railroad was built on the right of way. This was formally opened for traffic on Oct. 9, 1871, — forty-five years and two days after the original opening in 1826. There is a certain historical fitness in the fact that, through the incorporation of the Granite

[1] [This is a fac-simile of a contemporary cut showing the method of transporting large blocks of stone. See Snow's *Geography of Boston*, 1830, p. 159. — Ed.]

Railway into the Old Colony, the line which connects Plymouth with Boston has become the original railroad line in America.

With the appointment of the Phelps committee the railroad question in Massachusetts passed into its first, or educational, stage. This lasted four years, and until the granting of the charters for the Providence and Lowell roads in 1830. It was a tedious intermediate period. The necessity for doing something was becoming more and more apparent. The impulse given to New York by the rapid development of traffic through the Erie Canal had already drawn all the interests and connections of the western part of the State in that direction; and the central counties, following the course of the Connecticut, were rapidly following. So far as the commercial situation was concerned, the future of Boston must indeed at this time have seemed almost hopeless. Meanwhile, the sentiment of the State moved very slowly. On all questions touching property, especially property in land, the Legislature of Massachusetts has always been a singularly conservative body. It is so still; but during the years of the railroad discussion it was infinitely more so than now. It was in fact then a regular squirarchy. The large manufacturing towns of the interior were just coming into life, and had not yet begun to exercise much political influence. The State as a whole was still agricultural and commercial. The representatives of the commercial towns were, however, few in number, and opposed to them were the country gentry, — a colonial type which has since almost disappeared, but which in 1826 yet continued to be the traditional power in the General Courts. As regularly as the sessions were held, the same representative men of this class appeared, and the part taken by them in the conduct of business was an active one. They were the leaders of the landed interest; and the landed interest was the dominant interest. These men had many stirling qualities, but for mental receptiveness they were not remarkable. Moving them was a slow process. The schemes, also, that were advanced during this period were all based on the precedent of the Erie Canal. That was a Government project, carried through on the public credit; private enterprise had little to do with it. It was a monument to Governor De Witt Clinton and to the Legislatures influenced by him. Accordingly, all the canals and railroads now recommended by committees, and commissions, and boards of public works looked to State aid for encouragement; and the Legislature did not evince the slightest disposition to extend any such aid. The country representatives listened to the exhortations of Dr. Phelps, even though backed by the recommendations of Governor Lincoln, with stolid indifference. As the result proved, also, it was well that they did so. Their instinctive unreasoning conservatism, though exasperating to the last degree then, as many times before and since, did the State good service. Private enterprise had constructed the Middlesex Canal and the Granite Railway. The brilliant success of the Erie Canal had for the moment led the more active minds of the community away from these safe precedents, and it required an experience drawn from actual

results in another quarter to bring people back to them. That experience for Boston was to be furnished by the merchants and manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester in September, 1830. Meanwhile, during the interval, and before they made up their minds to help themselves, the leaders of public opinion in Boston employed their time and exercised their patience in trying to enlighten a succession of country members.

Dr. Abner Phelps made a report on behalf of the committee of which he was chairman, in January, 1827. He had gotten together a great many facts, and, arguing from them, proposed the building of what amounted to a magnified Granite Railway. In urging this scheme, as decidedly preferable to that of a canal, he yet followed the idea of a canal so closely that provision was made for paths for the drivers on each side of the road. Accordingly, the committee pronounced themselves satisfied "not only of the practicability, but of the expediency, of building a railway from Boston to the Hudson;" and they reported resolves for the appointment of three commissioners and an engineer to make surveys, plans, estimates, etc.

The reception by a portion of the press, at least, of his report and the conclusions embodied in it could scarcely have been satisfactory to Dr. Phelps and his colleagues on the committee. Mr. Joseph T. Buckingham, for instance, then editor of the *Boston Courier*, did not hesitate to write of it as follows in his paper of June 27, 1827: —

"Alcibiades, or some other great man of antiquity, it is said, cut off his dog's tail that *quidnuncs* might not become extinct from want of excitement. Some such notion we doubt not moved one or two of our natural and experimental philosophers to get up the project of a railroad from Boston to Albany, — a project which every one knows, who knows the simplest rule in arithmetic, to be impracticable, but at an expense little less than the market value of the whole territory of Massachusetts; and which, if practicable, every person of common-sense knows would be as useless as a railroad from Boston to the moon."

The Legislature did not treat the report quite so disrespectfully as Mr. Buckingham had done; but they paid no regard to its recommendations. Before being prorogued, however, they passed an act creating a "Board of Internal Improvements," to consist of three members, who were to employ an engineer and examine routes for canals and railways generally; and subsequently this board was directed to survey a railway route from Boston to the Rhode Island line, and a canal route to the Blackstone. The members of the board were appointed, Willard Phillips, of Salem, being one of them; but, as the only provision for their compensation, over expenses, was the modest one of four dollars a day, they apparently did not devote their whole energies to the work in hand. They appear to have made but one report, and that only on a local canal.

At its June session the Legislature was again besieged with petitions from Boston on the railway subject. They were now headed by Josiah Quincy, then Mayor of the city. In compliance with these petitions a resolve was

passed providing for two commissioners and an engineer, to report plans, surveys, and estimates for a railway on the best practicable route from Boston to the Hudson. This resolve was made effective by an appropriation of $10,000; and something accordingly came of it. The commissioners submitted their report towards the end of January, 1828; and in it, while as practical men, fearful of seeming to favor anything which might give a visionary air to their recommendations, they spoke only of a road to be exclusively operated by animal power, they did discuss the possibility of movable engines. The report also contained the usual estimates of cost and traffic, and accurate instrumental surveys of portions of the projected routes. Of far more value than all this, however, was a reference to what was then going on in England, where a mania for railroad construction had three years before broken out; the commissioners quoted from the famous *Quarterly Review* article of March, 1825, — that article which, though intelligent and progressive in its whole tone, earned an immortality of ridicule by the unfortunate prophecy that the writer of it would "as soon expect people to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's *ricochet* rockets, as trust themselves" to be "whirled at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles an hour by means of a high-pressure engine." The article referred, however, to the fact that in a single month associations had been formed in England "for construction of three thousand miles of these iron roads, at an expense of £20,000,000 sterling." Without intending it, therefore, the commissioners here pointed out to those composing the business community of Boston the course they also were to pursue. The time had not yet come however, when, recurring to sound principles, these were to stop trying to educate farmers, and put their hands in their own pockets, and their shoulders to the wheel.

In the Legislature this report of the commissioners took the regular course. It was referred to the proper committee, which, "after mature examination of the facts and statements contained" in it, got so far as to express an opinion that the question of railroad construction had "assumed a new and greater importance." The canal scheme was however now definitely dismissed. The public mind had, therefore, at last gotten away from one portion of the mischievous New York precedent, and it only remained for it to get rid of the other portion of it, — that which had led to the belief that nothing was practicable except through the action of Government. The policy of the State was now fixed in favor of a railroad system. Accordingly, in March, an act was passed creating a Board of Directors of Internal Improvements, to consist of nine persons, who were to serve without compensation. The members of this board were chosen by the Legislature, and Governor Lincoln was put first upon it; its real moving spirit, however, was Nathan Hale, of Boston. Mr. Hale at that time edited the *Daily Advertiser*, and his services as a railroad educator during these and the following years were very great. At a later period he became the president of the company which built the first Boston road opened to traffic, —

for in those days everything connected with the nascent system had to be improvised; and, just as during the Revolution physicians, farmers, and booksellers were turned into generals, so half a century later editors and merchants served as railroad presidents, while mechanics and schoolmasters became engineers and surveyors.

NATHAN HALE.[1]

The new Board of Directors organized at once, and in January of the next year (1829) still another report, and one more elaborate than any which had preceded, was laid before the Legislature. This report and the accompanying surveys furnished the basis on which the locations of the earlier Boston roads were subsequently made. It was the work of Mr. Hale, and is a clear, well-written, business-like document. In it the routes, the traffic, and the financial prospects of the proposed lines were discussed,

[1] [This follows a likeness hanging in the President's room of the Boston & Albany Railroad Station. — ED.]

and the construction of a double-track railway was recommended, in which Bryant's methods at Quincy were to be closely followed. The rails, the space between which was to be graded for a horse path, were to be of strap-iron, secured on longitudinal blocks of granite five feet apart. The question of motive power was fairly considered, and the future possibilities of steam recognized. The famous Rainhill trials near Liverpool were not made until nine months after this report was presented, and accordingly the success of the locomotive engine was not yet established. The construction of a railway to be operated by horse power alone was, therefore, still contemplated.

With this report the educational period came to a close. Great progress had already been made in the direction of a reliance on private enterprise, but the Directors of Internal Improvements could only see their way to looking to it for a portion of the means required. They said emphatically that "the assistance of the Government in some manner and to some extent, in aid of individual enterprise and exertion, must be given to the work." Governor Lincoln, also, in his message, recommended a stock system guaranteed by the State. Most fortunately even these repeated and importunate recommendations failed to overcome the conservatism of the country representatives. They seemed impervious to either argument or entreaty. The Legislature of 1829 adjourned accordingly without taking any definite action on the report.

Before the Legislature of 1830 met, the performances of George Stephenson's "Rocket" had signalled to the world the advent of a new era. Mr. Hale, as editor, now supplemented his work as a director on the Board of Internal Improvements. He spread before the people of the State, in the columns of the *Advertiser*, every detail of the Rainhill trials. The result was immediate. All the slow educational work of the six preceding years seemed to bear fruit in a day, — not in the Legislature, but in the market-place. Individual enterprise at last came to the front, and when the Legislature met in January, 1830, petitions for the incorporation of private railroad companies were presented to it.

The struggle, however, was not yet quite over. Legislative conservatism now took a new form. The objections which Bryant had been obliged to overcome in getting the charter for the Granite Railway five years before were repeated again. The science of railroad financiering as since developed was then as little understood as that of railroad construction. The first condition to the building of a road on the basis now proposed was the raising the necessary money. The decision in the great case of the Charlestown bridges, in which the charter for the original bridge had been held not to be exclusive, so that a new bridge had been built parallel to the old one, destroying it as a property, — this decision had been rendered only one year before, and was consequently very fresh in the minds of stockholders. If members from the country, therefore, were conservative, capitalists on their side were timid. Hence a tedious legislative contest yet

ensued. On the one hand, the private enterprise which stood ready to build the roads insisted, before doing so, on having a franchise guaranteeing exclusive railroad rights between *termini;* on the other hand, the Legislature refused to grant any such monopoly. At last, however, in the case of one route, — that between Boston and Lowell, — the exclusive right asked for was conceded for a period of forty years. Accordingly, the charter was in this case accepted, the company speedily organized, and books of subscription for the first Boston railroad were opened.

The great ceremony of the Manchester and Liverpool opening took place in November, 1830, and Mr. Hale took care to lay before the readers of the *Advertiser* a full account of it. The business community of Boston were quite alive to the importance of the event, and the growth of feeling was now rapid. As people got more eager for railroads, they insisted less on exclusive privileges. In this matter, therefore, legislative conservatism again happily prevailed, and when the Legislature met in June two more Boston roads were incorporated,— those to Providence and to Worcester. The system of roads which was destined to make Boston a future railroad centre was fairly inaugurated. Neither in thus getting at last in motion had Boston or its business community shown any marked degree of enterprise, public or private. The early progressive spirit shown in the Middlesex Canal and the Granite Railway had not been sustained. In America these were both Boston ideas; but, once originated, they had been most eagerly picked up elsewhere, and other places were now in advance. A portion of the present New York Central road had, for instance, been chartered in 1825; and it was completed, and a trial trip with a steam locomotive made over it on the 9th of August, 1831, only forty-seven days after the charter of the Boston & Worcester had become a law, and nearly three years before a locomotive was used upon its tracks. South Carolina was in advance even of New York, for an iron railroad had been completed there before the Boston & Lowell was fairly organized. So also charters had been obtained and the work of construction begun on railroads terminating in Baltimore and Philadelphia, in 1827 and 1828, while Boston was then, and for two years after, engaged in educating local public opinion. The city, in fact, lost its railroad lead in 1826, and, as will presently be seen, it was not destined to regain it.

The Lowell was the first organized of the Boston roads, as well as the first upon which the work of construction was actually begun.[1] Close behind it

[1] Patrick T. Jackson and Kirk Boott were the moving spirits in the construction of the Boston & Lowell road. The stock was in shares of $500 each originally, and was mainly taken by those interested in the Lowell manufactories. It was consequently held in larger blocks than was usual in those days. Mr. Jackson was an original subscriber for 124 shares, Edwin Munroe for 100, John Lowell for 94, Geo W. Lyman and Geo. W. Pratt for 75 each, and William Appleton for 50. The engineer of the line was Major Geo. W. Whistler, who afterward was the engineer of the Western, and finally passed into the railroad service of the Russian Government. The Boston & Lowell was originally built with "fish-belly" rails, laid on stone sleepers, which were supported on parallel masonwork walls sunken in the road-bed. Colonel Baldwin had satisfied himself by mathematical calculations that any less solid permanent way

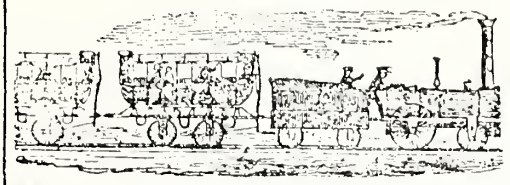
followed the Worcester and the Providence. In those days, however, when everything connected with construction had to be learned as the work went on, the progress made was not rapid. The country through which the routes lay was nowhere difficult, but the only actual experience obtainable of any real value was that of the Manchester & Liverpool road; and a trip of inquiry to Europe was a more considerable matter then than now. Under such circumstances twelve miles a year was looked upon as sufficiently rapid construction, though apparently it did not satisfy all parties interested. Indeed, so great was the distrust still felt in these undertakings that in January, 1833, Mr. Francis Stanton got the signatures of the holders of one thousand shares in the Boston & Worcester to a call for a stockholders' meeting, to consider the question of stopping the work and abandoning the enterprise. At last, however, in the spring of 1835, all of the three lines approached completion at about the same time. The first locomotive set in motion in Massachusetts was on the Boston & Worcester tracks in the latter part of March, 1834. Rails were then laid as far out as Newton, some nine or ten miles from Boston, and the company delayed opening for travel this completed section of its road only because it was compelled to await the arrival of an engine-driver, imported from England to take charge of the English-built locomotive. At last, on the 4th of April, a locomotive was actually put to work on a gravel train; and the next day the president of the company let it be known through the columns of his newspaper that "the engine worked with ease, was perfectly manageable, and showed power enough to work at any desirable speed." Three days later, on the 7th, a party of the directors and their friends, some fifty or sixty in number, went out on a trial trip as far as Davis's tavern in

would not sustain the rolling stock; so that the locomotive, when in motion, would always be overcoming an ascent caused by the sinking of the road under its weight. At a later day wood had, of course, to be substituted for stone, and gravel for mason-work. The earliest locomotive used on the road was imported from Stephenson's then famous works at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A man to run it was also brought over; but, as usual, he proved a useless fellow, and, when the locomotive had been duplicated at the Lowell machine shops, he pretended not to be able to make the American locomotives work satisfactorily. He was accordingly one day summarily sent about his business by Major Whistler, who was a man with whom it was dangerous to trifle. After that the Lowell locomotives did as well as the English.

Though at the time of the construction of the railroad Lowell was considered a large manufacturing place, its business seems now to have been curiously small. The income derived by the Middlesex Canal Company from transportation between that place and Boston did not, for instance, in 1830, exceed $4,000. The whole number of passengers passing between the two points annually was estimated at 37,500, and the tons of freight at 11,870 from Boston to Lowell, and 3,347 from Lowell to Boston. When the railroad company was organized, it was estimated that the gross annual receipts of the road, when in operation, would be $58,514. This, of course, was largely exceeded, the gross receipts of the year 1835, — during a portion of which only was the road in operation, — amounting to $65,000. The next year they were $165,000. They have since shown a steady increase, reaching $500,000 in 1859, $1,000,000 in 1870, and in 1880 they were $1,380,000. The company paid dividends from the beginning, and for thirty years never failed to do so. They were passed in the years 1875-77. The average rate of dividend has been about 6½ per cent. The market value of the stock has fluctuated widely, having fallen from $135 per cent. in 1835, when the road went into operation, to $86 the next year. By 1843 the price had got back to $132, and it then fluctuated along until 1855, when it fell to $62. In 1868 it had risen to $146, and in 1876 it had fallen again to $45. In 1880 it stood at $120.

Newton. "They returned," the *Advertiser* stated the next day, "in thirty-nine minutes, including a stop of about six minutes for the purpose of attaching five cars loaded with earth. The engine travelled with ease at the rate of twenty miles an hour." A little more than a month later, on the 12th of May, there appeared in the columns of the *Advertiser* the annexed new form of notice. The regular passenger railroad service to and from Boston did not, however, begin until four days later, on the morning of May 16, 1834. It consisted of the six trains specified in the advertisement. Thirty-five years later, it was reported that the daily service thus begun had then so increased that two passenger trains, carrying upon the average three hundred persons, entered or left the city in each five minutes of the fourteen active hours of the working day.

BOSTON AND WORCESTER RAIL ROAD.



THE Passenger Cars will continue to run daily from the Depot near Washington street, to Newton, at 6 and 10 o'clock, A.M. and at 3½ o'clock, P. M. and

Returning, leave Newton at 7 and a quarter past 11, A. M. and a quarter before 5, P.M.

Tickets for the passage either way may be had at the Ticket Office, No. 617, Washington street; price 37½ cents each; and for the return passage, of the Master of the Cars, Newton

By order of the President and Directors.

a 29 epistf F. A. WILLIAMS, Clerk.

Opened to Newton in the middle of May, by the end of June the Boston & Worcester road was ready for use as far as Needham. It was formally opened to that point on July 7. The further extension to Hopkinton was completed by September; and the 21st of the month the passenger service was extended to that point. On the day previous there was quite a celebration there, which was attended by the Governor, John Davis, his predecessor in the office, Levi Lincoln, and other distinguished personages. The party from Boston was some two hundred in number, and they went to Hopkinton in a train of seven of the company's largest passenger cars, leaving the city at 7 A. M. "The weather," as the *Advertiser* of the following day stated, "was unusually fine; and the sweetness of the atmosphere, the rapidity of the motion, and the beauty and novelty of the scenery which was successively presented to view, appeared to produce in all the party an agreeable exhilaration of spirits." At Hopkinton the train was received with firing of cannon; and the party of visitors, under escort of a company of riflemen, proceeded to Captain Stone's tavern, where a collation was provided. "While the party were at table the ladies were invited to take seats in the cars, and the military, with their band of music, to take a stand upon the tops of the cars, where they were formed in sections. In this manner they made an excursion of several miles down the road and back, which they appeared to enjoy highly. As they returned, the military on the tops of the cars approached the hotel with arms presented and music playing."

Two months later, in November, the road was opened to Westborough; and in June of the following year it was completed through to Worcester.

The formal opening to travel was on Saturday, July 4, 1835; and on that day the four locomotives, which constituted the company's whole motive-power, passed twice each way the entire length of the road. Some fifteen hundred passengers were carried. On the 6th the event was formally celebrated at Worcester.[1]

The Providence[2] and Lowell roads were opened a few days before the Worcester, — the former on the 11th and the latter on the 27th of June.

[1] On this occasion Mr. Henry Williams, of Boston, a director of the company, took occasion, in response to one of the sentiments, to allude "with much feeling to the difficulties with which the enterprise had to contend at the outset without the aid of the capitalists, who hesitated to embark in so perilous an adventure. 'The work was commenced and has been completed,' said Mr. Williams, 'by the middling class in the community.'" This was true of the Boston & Worcester in a far greater degree than of either the Boston & Lowell or the Boston & Providence. At the time of the completion of the road, the largest holder of its stock had two hundred and fifty shares; the average holding was about thirty shares

Among the early directors of the company were David Henshaw, George Bond, Thomas Motley, Daniel Denny, and George Morey. Mr. Nathan Hale was chosen president at the time the company was organized in July, 1831, and held the office until June, 1849; when he was succeeded by Thomas Hopkinson.

As an enterprise the Boston & Worcester was profitable from the outset. The first dividend of two per cent was paid simultaneously with the opening of the road through to Worcester; and after that semi-annual dividends, never falling below three per cent, were regularly paid until January, 1868, when the Boston & Albany consolidation took place. The average rate of dividend throughout the independent existence of the company was a fraction less than seven per cent per annum.

The estimate of gross annual receipts at the time the road was built was $142,500. The first complete year of operation was 1836: the gross receipts were then $183,000. The subsequent increase was steady. In 1840 the receipts were $267,000; in 1850 they were $758,000; in 1855 they had reached a million. They did not increase much after that, until the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion. In 1861 they were $928,000; and when the war closed in 1865 they were $1,700,000. In the year preceding the consolidation they were $1,940,000. The capital stock had been meanwhile increased from the original amount of $1,250,000 in 1836, to $5,000,000. In other words, the receipts had increased over twelvefold, while the capital had increased but fourfold. The net receipts were forty-three per cent of the gross in 1837, and forty per cent in 1867. The market value of the stock was necessarily always high, ranging from $75 per share in 1837 and in 1857, to $160 in 1863.

[2] Among those most forward in originating the Boston and Providence road were Thomas B. Wales, John Bryant, Joseph W. Revere, and Abbott Lawrence. The stock of the company was originally allotted to the petitioners for the charter, and was deemed a desirable investment. No difficulty was accordingly found in placing it. It has always been held by a large number of shareholders, and in small lots. In 1835 the largest individual holder had but seventy-five shares; in 1880 the largest single holding was three hundred and fifty-two shares, and there were 1,600 stockholders in all. Mr. Wales was the first president of the company, and was succeeded in 1835 by W. W. Woolsey, of New York, father of President Woolsey of Yale College.

The road was very well built, and was fortunate enough to escape the mistake of a too solid substructure, into which the builders of the Boston & Lowell fell. This was due to the sagacity of its engineer, Captain McNeill, who was sent abroad to examine the Manchester & Liverpool road; and in doing so was shrewd enough to anticipate the paradox of the elastic road-bed. The original rails laid down were of English manufacture, and weighed fifty-five pounds to the yard. The iron was so excellent in quality that the last of it was not taken out of the tracks until 1860. The first superintendent of the road was General William Raymond Lee, who also assisted Captain McNeill in its construction.

So far as extensions or consolidation with other lines is concerned, the policy of the Boston and Providence has always been very conservative. It owned and operated forty-three miles of road in 1835; and but sixty-seven miles in 1880. As an enterprise it was from the beginning very profitable. Its original cost was $1,600,000. Its gross earnings have steadily increased from $347,466 in 1836, to $685,630 in 1860, $1,049,125 in 1870, and $1,323,985 in 1880. The average rate of dividend paid to the holders of the stock has been over seven per cent; and in the course of forty-five years only three semi-annual dividends were passed, — those between January,

By means of the road to Providence, also, Boston was placed in direct steam communication by way of Long Island Sound with New York, and the time required for a trip between the two cities was reduced to about fourteen hours. It could be accomplished between the rising and the setting of an April sun. The first epoch of construction in the Boston railroad system did not, however, close with the opening of these three initial lines. It extended, on the contrary, to the closing days of 1841, when at length the Western road was finished, and Boston placed, as Dr. Phelps had proposed in the original scheme outlined in his report of 1827, in direct connection with Albany and all that net-work of interior communication which there found an outlet.

The Western Railroad Corporation had been chartered in March, 1833, as a species of outgrowth of the Boston & Worcester, — that is, the directors of the latter were individually made corporators of the former. The Boston & Worcester company thus had exclusive control over the extension of its own enterprise. No formal action was taken under the charter for over two years, and until the road to Worcester was opened; but in the meanwhile the project was a good deal discussed, and some subscriptions obtained in the towns along the proposed line. What with building at the same time three railroads, aggregating one hundred and twenty miles and calling for an outlay of three millions, the hands of the capitalists of Boston were supposed to be full. Accordingly no attempt was made to obtain subscriptions from them. Some time in the autumn of 1834 an informal offer had come from New York to subscribe the entire stock; but it was declined on the ground that its acceptance "might throw the whole enterprise into the vortex of the stock-gambling operations of Wall Street." The proposed road was, too, essentially a Boston one; and it was feared, not without cause, that the control of the charter elsewhere, especially in New York, might not imply its early construction. Yet in Massachusetts at this time, even in the towns along the route, no confidence was felt in the financial outcome of the scheme, and frequent doubts were still expressed as to its being practicable at all. The Berkshire Hills were supposed to present a serious, if not insuperable, barrier to the wheels of a locomotive. So limited also were men's views, that even in a place like Worcester the project was regarded with disfavor by many, because the railroad already constructed having made that town a terminus, its extension further, it was thought, would be a local injury.

The celebration at Worcester took place on July 6. After it was over a directors' meeting was held on the train as it returned to Boston, and it was decided at once to enter seriously upon the extension to Albany. A month later stock subscription-books were opened at various points. The

1855, and July, 1856. The market value of the stock, though as a rule it has ranged high, has fluctuated widely. When the road first went into operation, it stood at about $125 per share. During the next twenty years it never rose above $115, or fell below $80. In 1854 it sold down to $57. In 1863 and 1870 it went up to $158. In 1878 it fell again to $99; and then in 1881 it touched the highest point it had ever reached, — $164 per share.

want of faith in the financial success of the undertaking was, however, so general, that, even when these books were opened, subscriptions were urged almost wholly as a matter of public spirit. No one thought the road itself would be any more successful than the old Middlesex Canal had been; but it was argued that the community as a whole must derive great benefit from it. It was naturally a difficult matter to get any large amount of stock taken on this basis. Boston was thoroughly canvassed. Public meetings were held at which urgent appeals were made to all to subscribe, each according to his means. In itself, and under the circumstances of the time, the outlay called for was not a particularly heavy one. Boston was then a city of eighty thousand inhabitants, with an assessed valuation amounting to eighty millions. The increase since 1800 both in population and in wealth had been very great. Had any confidence been felt in the proposed road as a financial undertaking, the two millions required would, therefore, have been forthcoming at once. Considering the facts that a mania for railroad construction was then beginning both in England and in America, and that all three of the Boston initial lines were already more than answering expectation, this want of confidence is now somewhat inexplicable. It was generally felt, however; and, after every effort had been put forth, when at the expiration of the ten days fixed for keeping them open the subscription-books were closed, it was found that but thirteen thousand of the twenty thousand shares had been taken. Of these, eight thousand five hundred had been subscribed for in Boston. Renewed efforts were necessary. Accordingly, on October 7, a mass-meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, over which Abbott Lawrence presided. A report and resolutions were offered by Nathan Appleton, and speeches were made by delegates from many points, including Albany. Edward Everett closed the discussion, and a committee was then appointed to collect additional subscriptions, the members of which were directed to call on every man in the precincts assigned to them, "from the capitalist to the carman," to urge the vital necessity of subscribing for one or more shares. The response to this appeal even was not sufficient, and another meeting was held on November 20. Again the subscription committee was sent out. The thoroughness of the canvass now made, and the difficulties the canvassers met, can best be inferred from these extracts from the diary of one of their number,—Josiah Quincy, Jr.,—subsequently the first treasurer of the corporation: —

"Nov. 24, 1835. I went over the list of the voters in my ward to find out who had not subscribed, in order to call upon every man who is able, to learn whether he is willing to help on with this great undertaking."

"25th. Went round with Mr. Edmund Dwight to obtain subscribers for the Western railroad, and they all with one accord began to make excuses. Some think the city is large enough and do not want to increase it. Some have no faith in legislative grants of charters since the fate of Charlestown bridge, and very few say they won't subscribe. It is the most unpleasant business I ever engaged in."

At last, by dint of much asking, the required amount of subscriptions was secured, and the books were closed on December 5; and on January 4 the corporation organized by the election of a board of nine directors, among the Boston members of which were Thomas B. Wales, William Lawrence, Edmund Dwight, Henry Rice, John Henshaw, Francis Jackson, and Josiah Quincy, Jr. Mr. Wales was chosen president, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., treasurer.

The list of the original subscriptions to this enterprise is a curiosity. It includes over two thousand two hundred names, and the average number of shares taken by each was consequently less than ten. Subscriptions were very generally made in firm names, showing the extent to which the undertaking was looked upon as an aid to the city's business interests, and not as a money-making enterprise. The majority of the subscriptions, also, were for single shares, and the desire felt by the subscribers to get rid of the canvasser at the lowest price possible, short of a refusal to subscribe at all, is quite apparent. The largest subscription was but for two hundred shares; and names always associated in Boston with the idea of great wealth are found in this list set down opposite to amounts representing a risk, in what has since proved one of the most reliable of investments, of five hundred or a thousand dollars.[1]

The general expectation was, in fact, that, after one unsuccessful effort, all idea of building the road as a private enterprise would be abandoned, and the work would be taken up by the State. This opinion was shared in by the directors. An attempt, as ingenious as it was successful, to secure State aid was accordingly made as soon as the Legislature met. President Jackson's war on Nicholas Biddle's Bank then filled the public mind. The Democratic party was intensely and blindly hostile to all banking schemes; and of this fact the friends of the railroad now skilfully availed themselves. Protesting that they asked no grant from the Treasury of the Commonwealth, but merely a chance to raise an income for themselves, they succeeded in getting a bill reported creating the "State Bank of Massachusetts," with a capital of ten millions, one million of which the directors were required to subscribe for ten thousand shares of the stock of the Western Railroad Corporation. The proposal at once created great excitement. The Democrats were bitterly opposed to a bank; but it soon became apparent that the friends of the bank and of the railroad combined would be strong enough to carry the measure. Accordingly, the Democrats themselves came for-

[1] The largest subscription was that of James K. Mills & Co., 200 shares. A. & A. Lawrence & Co., and Whitwell, Bond, & Co., each subscribed for 150. Nathan Appleton, Lawrence & Stone, Palmer Company, T. H. Perkins, T. R. Sewell, R. G. Shaw, Israel Thorndike, Waterston, Pray, & Co., and J. D. Williams, each for 100. Governor Everett subscribed for 20 shares; as also did J. E. Thayer. W. Raymond Lee subscribed for 50 shares, and W. F. Weld for 10. The Appletons, Samuel and William, the Grays, J. C., F. C., and Horace, G. W. Lyman, John Parker, Jno. Phillips, the Pratts, G. W. and William, Wm. Sturgis, John Tappan, T. B. Wales, and several others subscribed for 50 each. Many well-known Boston names are not found at all. A number of the subscriptions, including some of the larger ones, suggest grave doubts as to the good faith with which they were made. Nothing was paid in on them.

ward with a proposition for direct State aid to the railroad. This the friends of the latter eagerly accepted; it passed the House by a vote of two hundred and forty-three to nine, was slightly amended in the Senate, and finally received the Governor's signature on April 4, 1836. As soon as the subscription bill was deemed safe, the bank bill was indefinitely postponed. A further sum of one million dollars was thus secured.

Before work could be begun it was necessary to have ten per cent paid in on the stock. This first assessment, even, the treasurer found great difficulty in collecting. The country was poor, and the war on the banks had led to a violent contraction of the currency. The financial crisis of 1837 was impending. While, therefore, the great majority of those who had subscribed for stock responded readily enough, there were some who had failed, some who had moved away, some who declared that when they subscribed they had done so with the understanding that upon paying five per cent they might relinquish their shares, and still others who simply refused to respond at all. It so happened, however, that Harrison Gray Otis, David Sears, and certain other wealthy Bostonians had refused to subscribe, apparently not being willing to bind themselves to payment in full for such amounts of stock as they would have been expected to take; but in doing so they had agreed to give outright to the enterprise sums amounting in the aggregate to several thousand dollars. This money was now applied by the treasurer to the payment of the assessment on the defaulted stock, which new parties were then induced to subscribe for at a discount of ten per cent. The treasurer was thus enabled to report that the requisite amount had been paid in on every share; and early in 1837 the work of grading was at last begun.

The subsequent financial history of the Western road makes no part of the present work, except in so far as it relates to Boston and its citizens. As has been seen, however, the enterprise was essentially a Boston enterprise, for citizens of Boston constituted numerically more than half of its original body of stockholders; and then, and ever since, they have held more than two-thirds of its stock. The president and the treasurer of the corporation were both citizens of Boston, and in Boston the burden of construction all through the dreary years which succeeded the crisis of 1837 made itself most heavily felt. The stock was widely distributed among those in active business; and no day then passed without its record of business failures. The banks suspended specie payments. Private credit had received a severe shock; and matters presently became so bad, that when, in 1838, an issue of the State scrip, made in further aid of the enterprise, was sent to London for sale, the bonds were after a time returned by the house of Baring Bros. & Co., on the ground that "owing to the repudiation of Pennsylvania, there was no sale of American stocks at any price." The construction of the road by unaided private enterprise would, therefore, at the time and under the circumstances have been simply impossible. Had not the State lent its aid, work must have been suspended and bankruptcy would have

ensued. In the full light of subsequent experience, however, it admits of question whether this would not have been better for Boston, and better for the State. The completion of the Western road, at the time and in the way it was completed, proved in the end far from an unmixed public benefit. Had a failure and temporary suspension of the work taken place in 1837, a reorganization would soon have been effected, and the line would have been built through a few years at farthest later than it was. Possibly, too, it might have been built by sections, and as an extension of the Boston & Worcester, under one ownership and management with it. Private enterprise would have proved easily equal to the whole undertaking.

As it was, the apparent success of this experiment of State aid became at a later day a precedent and an argument. As such it led to other and far larger, while much less judicious, experiments of the same kind. As will presently be seen, also, the premature construction of the Western road, not as an extension of the Boston & Worcester, but independent of it and in some degree antagonistic to it, was productive of other results now apparent enough, but which then could not be foreseen. Palsied by State aid, the Western road never got firmly rooted in the private enterprise and capital of Boston. For years it remained in the air, as it were. It was separated from its natural base; and this fact very sensibly affected the course of subsequent events. The railroad to Albany should in the development of those events have been to Boston what the Pennsylvania was to Philadelphia, and the Baltimore & Ohio was to Baltimore, — the nucleus about which the ability, enterprise, and capital of the city crystallized, until it enlarged and strengthened into the basis of what was to prove an expansive external development. This did not take place. Instead of it the two segments of what should have been a single property wasted twenty years in bickering over the division of a joint business; while the private wealth and individual enterprise of Boston sought and found their field in a system of railroads which made Chicago its base. The railroad map of the United States might well, therefore, so far as Boston is concerned, have been far different from what it ultimately became, had the State in 1837 held fast to its principles, and forced private enterprise to work out its destiny in obedience to business laws, unincumbered by legislative aid.

At the time, however, nothing of all this could have been foreseen; and it was natural enough for the promoters of what was really a great public undertaking to look to the State in their extreme need. They did not look in vain. In 1838 they obtained from the Legislature another measure of relief; in 1839 yet another; and still a fourth in 1840. The road, estimated to cost three millions, required about seven millions to complete it, — of which five millions were supplied from the public purse. The final assessment of forty per cent on the private stock was not called in until after the line had been opened through to Albany, in January, 1842. The Western Railroad was the most considerable enterprise of its kind which had then been un-

dertaken in America; and, taking all the circumstances of time, novelty, and financial disturbance into account, it may well be questioned whether anything equal to it has been accomplished since. It does not of course need to be said that, as compared with many of those enterprises since hurried to completion across the Plains or amid the Rocky Mountains, the one hundred and fifty-five miles of track painfully built through the Berkshire Hills between 1837 and 1842, at an average rate of twenty miles a year, was a very small affair. It was, however, a pioneer. It showed what could be done, and how the locomotive could climb. The voyage of Columbus, though made in a very small vessel, has lost none of its interest because much bigger vessels are now built, and crossing the Atlantic has become an every-day affair; neither will Fremont's passage of the Rockys ever cease to be a memorable event, notwithstanding the fact that trains may run as regularly between Chicago and San Francisco as they do between Boston and New York.

Of all those connected with the building of the Western road, George Bliss, of Springfield, was the one upon whom the heaviest burden of the work devolved.[1] He, however, was never identified with Boston. Of the Bostonians connected with it, three — Thomas B. Wales, Josiah Quincy, Jr., and P. P. F. Degrand — deserve especial mention. Mr. Wales is identified rather with the Providence than with the Western road, though he was president of the latter from the first organization of the company until the locomotive was running to Albany. In February, 1842, he declined a re-election. Mr. Wales was one of that school of Boston merchants common enough in the first half of the century, but which gradually passed away with the advent of steam. He was born in Randolph, Mass., on the first day of the year 1776, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1795. The active portion of his business life was passed in his counting-room on the wharf in Boston which bore his name, and from which he traded with various European ports, more especially those of France. Noted for integrity and methodical business ways, he had already, when the railroad era dawned, retired from active mercantile life with what was in those days looked upon as an ample fortune. Under these circumstances, and as his name was respected wherever it was known, younger men in organizing the railroad schemes naturally turned to him as one whose known connection with those schemes would give them character. He responded freely, and accepted the presidency of the Western road from motives of the purest public spirit, at a time when the outlook for the enterprise was far from encouraging.

Mr. Degrand was, as his name indicates, of French descent, and himself an immigrant. In accent, in appearance, and in manners he remained indeed to the end of his life a French gentleman of that formal school which sur-

[1] [He printed an *Historical Memoir of the Western Railroad* in 1863. A view of the crossing of the Worcester and Providence roads on the marshes, with the city beyond, and showing the style of cars used about 1840, is given in Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Mass.* — Ed.].

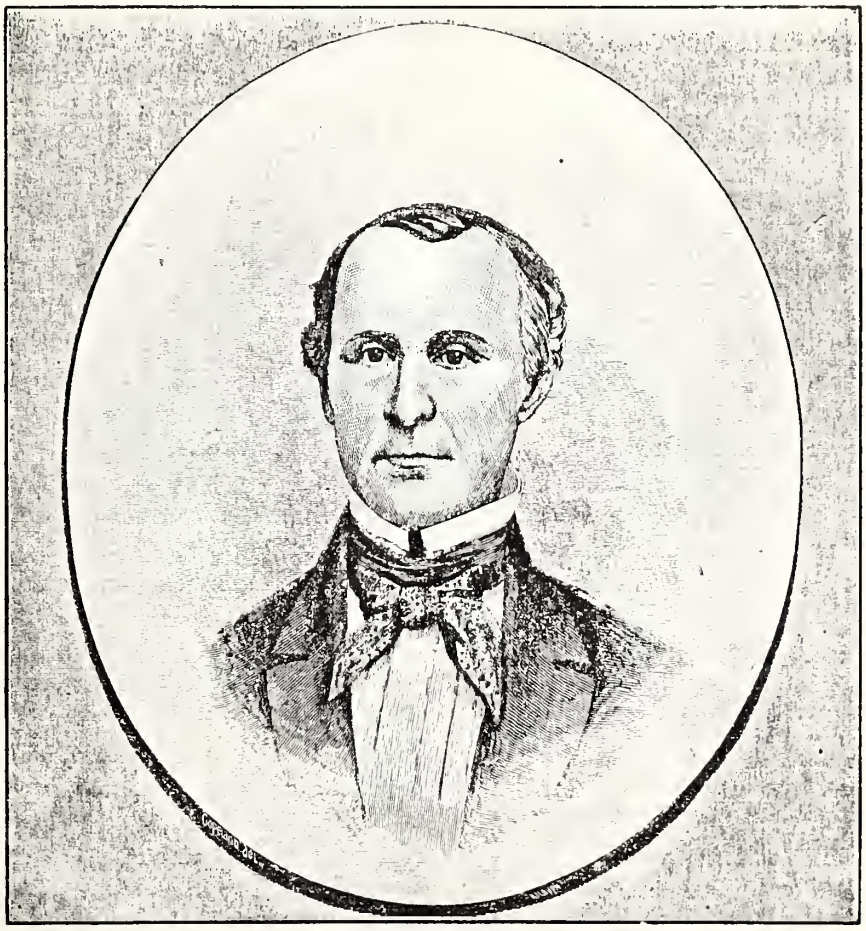
vived the Revolution only in the provinces. In active business as a broker in Boston, he was an enthusiast on the subject of railroads; and, though not himself a man of large means, most forward in promoting them. A general favorite among men of business, and much respected for his integrity of character, he was a good deal ridiculed for the extravagance of his predictions, all of which have, however, since been more than realized. He

THOMAS B. WALES.[1]

was wont, among other things, energetically to refer to the Worcester road as a forty-four mile extension of Boston Long-Wharf. He was the author of the address to the people of the State issued by the stockholders of the Western Railroad Corporation in January, 1841, which resulted in the third grant of aid. He was, however, not always so fortunate in his methods of appeal; and he created a good deal of amusement by one of them, which was suggested to him by a sermon the Rev. S. K. Lothrop

[1] [This cut follows an original likeness painted in 1843 by George P. Healey, and now in the possession of George W. Wales, Esq., a son. — Ed.]

had delivered in the Church in Brattle Street, on the subject of the moral and Christianizing influence of railroads. This discourse attracted at the time a good deal of attention; and Mr. Degrand, seizing the opportunity, forthwith got up a circular on his own account, a copy of which he sent to every clergyman in Massachusetts. In it he suggested the propriety of dis-



JOSIAH QUINCY, JR.[1]

courses on the moral and Christianizing influence of railroads in general, — and of the Western Railroad in particular. He died in the year 1855.

Josiah Quincy, Jr., was at a subsequent period too closely connected with the municipal history of Boston to call for any detailed mention of him here. At the time of his election as treasurer of the Western Railroad Corporation, in January, 1836, he was thirty-four years of age, and a lawyer by profession. Abandoning that calling in view of the engrossing nature of

[1] [This cut follows a likeness hanging in the president's room of the Boston & Providence Railroad Station. Mr. Quincy was also painted by Page, about 1845. — ED.]

the new duties imposed upon him, he devoted himself wholly to the care of the company's finances. He resigned in February, 1848, after twelve years of arduous service, to the value of which the stockholders of the company bore testimony in a vote of earnest thanks entered upon their records. During the period of construction, the whole management of the finances of the company was devolved on Mr. Quincy. Strange as it seems, there was even no standing committee, of the directors, on finance. His sanguine temperament then enabled Mr. Quincy to meet difficulties in the presence of which a more cautious man would have stopped; and, throughout the long financial depression from 1837 to 1843, he always succeeded in somehow or somewhere borrowing money enough to keep the work of construction going on. At one time he got it from the banks and the institutions of savings; at another from the firm of Baring Bros. & Co.; and then, as a last resort, he squeezed it out of the embarrassed stockholders. He just succeeded in weathering the storm. He did weather it, however; and when, after seeing the stock of the company selling at $40 a share in 1843, he five years later resigned, the same stock had for three years stood at a premium, dividends were paid upon it regularly, and the debt of the company was being fast paid off.

The Western Railroad[1] was opened through its entire length during the last days of the year 1841, and the event was celebrated in the usual way. On the 27th of December the Boston City Government went to Albany, where they were duly entertained; and on their return they brought with them their hosts, who partook of a municipal dinner on the

[1] The consolidation of the Boston & Worcester and the Western Railroad Companies took place in January, 1868, under an Act incorporating the Boston & Albany Railroad Company, passed by the Legislature of the previous year. The barrier in the way of the commercial development of Boston, occasioned by inability of the two original companies to act in harmony, had gradually given rise to a feeling of deep-seated popular discontent. A movement looking to the purchase of both roads by the State, under its reserved rights, had been started in the autumn of 1866 by Mr. Josiah Quincy. His scheme looked to a public management; and the utter absence of ocean steamship facilities at the port, which a year later led to the entire withdrawal from it of the Cunard line of steamers, caused the suggestion to be much discussed. The result was the consolidation of the two companies under a single management. Prior to this event it is a curious fact that the direct through line from Boston to the West had practically no means of receiving or delivering ocean freights at tidewater.

In 1869, as the result of a long and costly litigation, the Boston & Albany company succeeded in getting control of the Grand Junction road, by means of which it reached the docks at East Boston. During the same year it effected an arrangement with its western railroad connections by which produce could be shipped through to Europe by way of Boston, at the New York rate. The revival of Boston as an ocean steamship port dates from this time, and was very rapid. In 1867 no steamers sailed regularly from Boston to any foreign port. During the year 1880 no less than 333 steamers cleared from it. The exports by way of Boston had increased proportionately, — that of wheat-flour, for instance, from 177,000 barrels to 3,678,000; that of cheese, from 40,000 pounds to 4,335,000; that of lard, from 767,000 pounds to 48,000,000; while of live animals, 95,755 were exported in 1880, while none had been exported in 1870.

The management of the consolidated line was financially most successful. Its gross earnings rose from $6,000,000 in 1868, to $9,800,000 in 1873. Under the influence of the depression which followed the crisis of that year, they then fell away to $6,400,000 in 1879; but in 1880 they began to rise again, and amounted to $7,740,000.

The market value of its stock ranged from $160 per share shortly after the consolidation, to $112 in 1877, and $175 in 1881.

evening of December 30. These two occasions were enlivened by the usual interchange of sentiments and speeches, which now seem dull and prosaic enough. The novelty of railroad construction had already passed away.[1]

From the date of the completion of the Western road, the history of local railroad development, so far as Boston is concerned, becomes a mere record of dates and statistics. An article in the *Monthly Chronicle*, for June, 1841, begins with these words: "The magnificent system of railroads, extending from a common centre at Boston, throughout the State of Massachusetts, and reaching to four of the adjoining States, is now nearly completed." The "magnificent system" thus referred to included three hundred and thirty-seven miles of road, which had cost about $14,000,000, and earned in 1839 $1,000,000 in gross. The Eastern was a part of this system, as well as the three initial Boston lines. This road was a Salem enterprise. It originated with Mr. William H. Foster, a citizen of that place, and then, and down to the year 1881, cashier of the Asiatic Bank there. It was chartered in April, 1836. George Peabody, a Salem merchant and a relative of the more famous London banker of the same name, was the first president of the company, and in 1840 was succeeded by Captain David A. Neal, also of Salem. A few years later Captain Neal became very prominent among the earlier railroad magnates, being closely identified with both the Reading road, of Pennsylvania, and the Illinois Central. It was not until 1854, however, that the Eastern reached a station on Causeway Street, in the city proper. Prior to that year its southern terminus was at the wharf in East Boston, from which it made a ferry connection.

Chartered in March, 1833, as a branch of the Lowell road, and under the name of the Andover & Wilmington Railroad Corporation, the Boston & Maine did not reach its final terminus in Haymarket Square until 1845. It had originally received the name it has since borne from an act of the Legislature of New Hampshire, passed in June, 1835; and the Boston & Maine Railroad Company of Massachusetts was not created until March, 1841, when portions of the line had already been for nearly five years in operation. When it took its place as one of the Boston terminal roads on the first of July, 1845, it had become, consequently, a comparatively well

[1] There was, however, in these two entertainments one episode, — the last of the sort in Massachusetts, — which fairly marked the close of the first era in railroad construction; an incident which showed that railroads had not yet become wholly commonplace affairs. Among the guests who went to Albany with the Boston City Government was a party of gentlemen from New Bedford. The incident referred to was as follows: —

"In order to lend point to the astonishing fact that, leaving their homes in the morning, they would in fifteen hours be in Albany, these gentlemen, during the small hours of the day of their departure, caused some spermaceti candles to be moulded, which they took with them on their trip; and that evening the rays from those candles illumined the table around which took place the civic banquet at Albany. But the Albanians were not to be outdone. They were to return to Boston with their guests the next day; and in doing so they took with them a barrel of flour, the wheat for which had been threshed at Rochester on the previous Monday; they went to Boston on Wednesday, while the barrel itself was made from wood which on the threshing-day had been growing in the tree. This flour, duly converted into bread, the authorities of the two cities, and their invited guests, solemnly ate at a great dinner given at the United States Hotel in Boston, on the evening of Dec. 30, 1841."

developed enterprise, controlling seventy-four miles of track in operation, earning annually $350,000, and represented by a capital of $2,380,300.

The Fitchburg road was likewise opened through to its western terminus during the year 1845. This line, more probably than any other of those centring in Boston, owed its early construction to one man,—its first president, Alvah Crocker, of Fitchburg. Mr. Crocker was the very embodiment of Yankee activity and energy. His body was rarely quiet; and it may safely be said that his mind and his tongue never were. An active friend of the Western in the Legislature of 1836, he conceived the idea of a similar railroad to his own town, then a place of about two thousand five hundred inhabitants. When he went home after the adjournment he began at once in his peculiar fashion to agitate the matter. The line proposed followed the canal route surveyed by Colonel Baldwin in 1825, and ran through a wild and sparsely settled region, where the idea of building a railroad seemed at the time little less than preposterous. Mr. Crocker, however, was not a man to be turned aside from his project; and at last, in March, 1842, he secured his charter. On Dec. 20, 1843, the road was opened to Waltham; and March 5, 1845, the first locomotive ran into Fitchburg, with Mr. Crocker upon it.

In the autumn of the same year in which the Boston & Maine, and the Fitchburg entered Boston on the north side, the Old Colony entered it on the south. This road, chartered in March, 1844, was opened through to Plymouth, Nov. 10, 1845. It at first terminated in the Lincoln Street station of the Boston & Worcester. This arrangement, however, was but temporary; and in June, 1847, the Kneeland Street station was opened.[1]

[1] The Old Colony, more than any other of the corporations owning roads terminating in Boston, has throughout its history pursued a policy of development and acquisition. Why this should have been so in the case of this corporation, and not so in the case of the others, it would not be easy to explain. The fact, however, remains. Originally chartered in March, 1844, as the Old Colony Railroad Corporation, with a capital of $1,000,000, to build a road from Boston to Plymouth, in 1854 it became, through a consolidation, the Old Colony & Fall River Railroad Company. In 1862, by another consolidation, it became the Old Colony & Newport Railway Company; and at last, in 1872, by a third consolidation, it became the Old Colony Railway Company. The original road to Plymouth was 37 miles in length By extension, consolidation, and leases, the Old Colony system has expanded, until, in 1880, it included 475 miles of road,—a larger amount than was then owned or operated by any other Massachusetts corporation. It held, in fact, undivided control of the southeastern portion of the State.

The principle of growth developed throughout the history of this corporation has not been due to the influence of any one man. The enterprise was projected at a later period, when the idea of risk had ceased to be connected with railroad subscriptions. The stock, especially of some of the lines like the Cape Cod, brought into the consolidation at more recent dates, was quite widely distributed, and the management of the road has been a somewhat shifting one. The policy pursued has, however, always been the same, and in striking and happy contrast to the policy pursued by the corporations the roads of which terminated on the north side of the city. The contrast furnishes, indeed, a most suggestive illustration to both the owners of railroads and the communities served by them, of the advantages and disadvantages of competing and consolidated lines.

Nathan Carruth, of Dorchester, was the first president of the Old Colony; and William Thomas, Jacob H. Loud, Uriel Crocker, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., were members of the earlier boards of direction. Mr. Carruth was succeeded as president by E. Hasket Derby, in 1848. The original one million of capital of the company has been increased from time to time through consolidation and otherwise, until in 1880 it amounted to over seven millions, with more than five millions of funded debt.

New-Year's day, 1846, thus found seven distinct Boston terminal lines, and the number did not further increase for ten years. In 1855 what is now the New York & New England, then known as the Boston & New York Central, the successor of the Midland and the predecessor of the Boston, Hartford, & Erie, found its way, through a slough of bankruptcy, to a terminus in the city on Broad Street. It was opened to Putnam, in Connecticut, in January, 1855. It is a fact worthy of notice that this alone, of all the Boston terminal roads, reached at last, in 1879, what might be called a condition of fair prosperity only as the result of a series of failures and reorganizations stretching through a period of more than twenty-five years.[1] As business enterprises, all the others were at the outset successful.

The last of the lines reaching an independent terminus in Boston was the narrow-gauge road known as the Boston, Revere Beach, & Lynn, organized under the general railroad law of the State in May, 1874, and opened through to Lynn, July 29, 1875. It was designed for passenger business only; and its city terminus is at East Boston, from which it connects with its station on Atlantic Avenue, in the city proper, by means of a ferry.

The local railroad-system distinctly tributary to Boston as a considerable railroad centre, and opposed to the other large railroad centres of the country, may be said in 1880 to have consisted approximately of 3,000 miles of road. These serve a region covering the whole of New England, north of the Connecticut and Rhode Island lines, and east of the Berkshire Hills and the Green Mountains of Vermont. Within those limits the traffic is at points, as along the Connecticut, divided not unequally between Boston and New York; beyond them, the tendency is distinctly to the latter city.

As compared with the other great railroad centres of the East, — with Montreal, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, — one striking peculiarity of the Boston situation is that the city has not, and never has had, any complete route connecting it with the interior, which has been controlled and operated in its local interest. An all-rail connection with the West by way of Albany was effected in 1841; and another by way of Troy, when the Hoosac Tunnel was completed, in 1875. Still another had been opened, when in September, 1851, the completion of the Vermont Central, which perfected the city's communication with Canada, was celebrated with rejoicings lasting through many days.[2] But, though these and other outlets to the interior have been opened, none of the Boston terminal lines, unlike those of the other great sea-board cities in this respect, have developed within themselves an expansive force sufficient to carry them beyond the local system into what may be termed the continental arena. The probable explanation of this fact has already been alluded to. It lay in the premature develop-

[1] In the Massachusetts Legislative Documents for 1877 (House, No. 325) is a curious "genealogical chart" of the New York & New England. Some twenty corporations, all of which had been insolvent, seem at different times to have been merged in it.

[2] [See *An Account of the Celebration Commemorative of the Opening of Railroad Communication between Boston and Canada*, Sept. 17–19, 1851. Boston: 1852. The newspapers of that day have full reports of the procession and festivities. — Ed.]

ment, through State aid, of the Western road as distinct from its eastern end, the Boston & Worcester, which held the terminus in Boston. At the very moment of the completion of the Western, consequently, the active business management of it as a corporation passed away from Boston and centred at Springfield. Nor was that all. Instead of being a period of concentration for development outside of the State, the succeeding twenty-five years in the history of both the Western and the Boston & Worcester corporations were wasted in a succession of controversies and bickerings, which ended only with their consolidation in 1866. At the same time the public mind and the resources of the State were diverted in another and false direction, as the scheme for tunnelling the Hoosac Mountain gradually assumed shape. So far as Boston was concerned, therefore, the western railroad horizon did not enlarge. In 1875 it was just where it was in 1825, —at the Hudson River. While New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore had pushed their systems forward to the Mississippi, and were reaching out in every direction, Massachusetts was spending millions to get a competing line through to a point near the mouth of the Mohawk, which had been reached years before, and which had long ceased to be of any large competitive consequence.

From legislative wisdom in dealing with such matters, all experience shows that good results can hardly be expected. As a rule it is either hopelessly wrong, or hopelessly behind the times; in this case it chanced to be both. A policy of systematic dissipation of resource was pursued at a time when its concentration was above all else necessary; and, while the great corporations which served other cities were absorbing into themselves the thoroughfares in the valley of the Mississippi, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts kept its eyes steadily fixed on the Hoosac Mountain. From private enterprise and keener individual judgment better results might have been anticipated. Nor did the opportunity pass unnoticed. Unfortunately when it presented itself, the president of the Western road, though a man of marked ability, was not a citizen of Boston. What is called a self-made man, Mr. Chester W. Chapin had all his life been a resident of Springfield. He was familiar only with the western portions of the State. He was not at home in Boston, and the capital and enterprise of the city neither naturally centred about him, nor did he know how to put himself in communication with them. It was under these circumstances that the one great opportunity for the development of the Boston railroad system presented itself, and was lost.

Mr. Chapin succeeded to the presidency of the Western Railroad Corporation in 1854. At that time the New York Central, both as respects ownership and management, was not what it subsequently became. Its capital was but twenty-three millions, instead of the ninety millions it had been swollen to in 1880; and the value of its stock was so little appreciated, that between 1854 and 1860 it ranged from $50 to $95, with an average market price of, perhaps, $80 a share. Neither was its ownership concentrated in the

hands of a few men. On the contrary, it was widely scattered and largely dealt in on the Exchange. The road was in fact for sale, and continued to be so until it was bought up by Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1868. Shortly after assuming the presidency of the Western, Mr. Chapin became satisfied that a controlling interest in the New York Central could not only be secured, but that it could be secured for a comparatively small sum of money. The amount required did not indeed exceed nine millions. That it was most desirable to secure this control on behalf both of the Western road and the city of Boston, was obvious. Seeing the matter in its future bearings very clearly himself, Mr. Chapin repeatedly brought it to the notice of those in Boston who were connected with his company. For the reasons which have been pointed out, however, he failed to interest them in his project, or to impress them with its importance. He offered himself to secure one million of the nine millions required; but the necessary contribution could not be made up. So much in earnest, however, was Mr. Chapin in the matter, that, having failed to accomplish anything himself towards bringing about the result he desired, he had recourse to others. He sent for James D. Colt, afterward one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State, but then a leading lawyer in Berkshire, and requested him to go to Boston and present the matter in the proper quarters. Both the mission and the messenger singularly illustrated the separation which then existed between the main artery of Boston's commerce and Boston's financial and business men. So far from being able to effect a combination to carry out a great scheme, the importance of which he alone seems to have fully realized, the Springfield president of the Western Railroad Corporation did not even know how to put himself in communication with the men who were necessary to make up the combination. Mr. Colt was a lawyer. The business in hand, however, was one to be transacted not with lawyers or judges, but with bankers, and men of business and of capital. To carry it through would have required a great command of money, and that confidence which comes only from the habit of long acting together. Mr. Colt went to Boston and presented the matter as well as he could to a few persons. He failed, however, to interest them in it, either because of its magnitude, or because they did not appreciate its importance. Nothing came of his mission, and Mr. Chapin reluctantly abandoned his scheme as the time for carrying it out slipped away. It is needless to add that the opportunity did not again present itself.

In point of fact, however, even at this time, the individual enterprise and private capital of Boston had already found another, though not more profitable, field of operations. There was what might be called a larger Boston railroad development going on in the West. This dated from the year 1845, and subsequently filled so large a space in the financial operations of Boston, and added so much to its accumulated wealth, that something more than a mere reference to it is necessary. In 1845 there was no

all-rail line from the seaboard to the interior. The disconnected roads, which were subsequently consolidated into the New York Central, terminated at Buffalo, where they connected with a line of steamers which ran to Chicago, stopping at Detroit. From Detroit the State of Michigan had some years before, during the mania for railroad construction which made part of the financial crisis of 1837, built a line to Kalamazoo, in the direction of Chicago. The State had then become insolvent, and the incompleted road, which was laid with strap rails only, gradually wore out. Its sale was accordingly agitated in the public prints, and the discussion attracted the attention of John W. Brooks, who was then superintendent of the road between Auburn and Rochester. Mr. Brooks was a native of Massachusetts, born in the town of Stow, in 1819. He learned what engineering he knew in the office of Loammi Baldwin, and subsequently on the Boston & Maine, but had removed to the State of New York in 1844. Being young, ambitious, and very active-minded, he now concluded that it would be worth his while to go to Detroit and look into the situation there. He soon became satisfied that if the railroad to Kalamazoo was extended through to New Buffalo, on the south-eastern shore of Lake Michigan, it would, as a link in a mixed land-and-lake through-line to Chicago, become a valuable property. He accordingly returned to the East with a view to there effecting some combination to buy up the worn-out and incompleted road, and to renew and finish it. He went first to Boston, where he met with no encouragement. Nor was this surprising. Mr. Brooks at the time was but twenty-six years old. He had almost no acquaintance among men of wealth. Hardly more than a boy, he appeared asking, for the purchase of an unknown railroad in the bankrupt West, a sum of money larger than that which but a few years before Boston had in reality failed to raise to build its long-talked of line to Albany, — failed to raise, too, after Faneuil Hall meetings and resolutions, and speeches from Governor Everett, and much canvassing by committees. Fortunately Mr. Brooks was a man who not only understood his business, but who understood himself likewise; accordingly he was not easily turned aside from his purpose. Though he could get no assurance of aid from Boston, he did get letters to John C. Green and others in New York; and, going there, found that the Farmers' Loan & Trust Company held a large amount of defaulted securities of the State of Michigan. This fact made that company very desirous to have the State sell its public works in order to restore its credit; and to effect the sale it was necessary to provide a purchaser. Here, therefore, Mr. Brooks found something on which to base securely the combination he proposed to effect.

Returning to Michigan, he caused the necessary legislation to be prepared. His counsel was Mr. James F. Joy, then a lawyer in active practice at Detroit. The measure now prepared was submitted to the Michigan Legislature at its next session, and an act authorizing the sale of the State road, and incorporating the Michigan Central Railroad Company, was finally passed in March, 1846. The price of the existing one hundred and fifty

miles of road was to be two million dollars; it was to be completed through to Lake Michigan within three years, and equipped throughout with sixty-pound rails. Six months' time was allowed for the formation of the company and the acceptance of the charter.

Having secured his legislation, Mr. Brooks again went East. He now met with much better success in Boston. The fact that he had powerful

J. W. BROOKS.

backing in New York aided him greatly, and John M. Forbes had become interested in the project. The thing moved, however, very slowly. It was the first considerable venture of the kind which eastern men had made at the West, and, feeling a natural doubt as to its outcome, they went into it slowly and with great hesitation. It took nearly the entire six months to effect the necessary combination. The principal Boston parties finally concerned in it were John E. Thayer and John M. Forbes; with whom, also, was Captain David A. Neal, of Salem.

The road was purchased within the time allowed by the act, and the new company organized. Its principal office was in Boston. Mr. Forbes was chosen president, and Mr. Brooks superintendent; John E. Thayer was the financial representative. The combination was a powerful one. Mr. Forbes was then in the prime of life, and he brought an inexhaustible resource, energy, and knowledge of men to bear on the new enterprise. The success which followed was, however, mainly due to Mr. Brooks. Naturally gifted with quick insight and unfailing courage, he combined with great organizing capacity a remarkable executive ability. He thus carried the undertaking through with insufficient means and against obstacles of the most formidable character. More probably than any other man he opened the way to the investment of eastern capital in the railroad development of the West. It was not, however, until 1849 that he succeeded in completing the Michigan Central to New Buffalo. That point continued to be its terminus until 1852, all freight and travel crossing Lake Michigan by steamer. In 1852 all-rail connection was at last made with Chicago.

The Michigan Central now became what the Western Railroad should have been, — the nucleus around which Boston capital centred, and the base from which it expanded. Founded on individual enterprise and private capital, — unhampered by the necessity of perpetually looking to a Legislature for assistance from the public purse to accomplish a given result and no more, — this enterprise was instinct with the spirit of development. That spirit, too, was continually asserting itself. The completion of the road through to Chicago was looked upon as an end, — as much an end to that enterprise as the completion to Albany was to the Western. Scarcely, however, had the Michigan Central reached Chicago, when Mr. Brooks and Mr. Joy, in looking the situation over, concluded that it would be for its interest to have a connection with the Illinois Central, running north and south, at Mendota, fifty miles further west. They accordingly purchased a little road called the Aurora Branch, thirteen miles in length, and got its charter so amended as to authorize an extension to Mendota. Their plan then included nothing more. It looked merely to securing the business of the north-western portion of the Illinois Central for the Michigan Central. In it, however, lay the germ of a great railroad enterprise.

While Mr. Joy was at Springfield, securing his amendments to the charter of the Aurora Branch, he met there other parties on a similar errand. They were trying to get the Legislature to alter the charter of a road known as the Central Military Tract Company, so that under it a connection could be built east from Galesburg. A road was already building from Burlington in Iowa to Peoria, which would pass near Galesburg. Mr. Joy had a boundless faith in the future of the West. Instinctively taking in the possibilities of the situation, he secured the legislation he wanted, made a verbal arrangement with the Galesburg interest, and then started at once from Springfield for Boston. He there laid his project for the new enterprise before those interested in the Michigan Central, but received no encourage-

ment. In New York he was somewhat more successful, getting subscriptions to the amount of $150,000 from Mr. Green and George Griswold. Returning to Boston he now induced the Thayers, Mr. Forbes, and others to subscribe, though for a less aggregate amount; and in the West he and Mr. Brooks raised further sums. In all about $500,000 was gotten together. The Central Military Tract charter was then secured; and with $500,000 of stock subscriptions only to rely upon, Messrs. Joy and Brooks undertook the construction of the first one hundred and thirty miles of what afterward became the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railroad.

The subsequent extension of this system in the hands of the able men who originated it is a narrative by itself. It is beside the present purpose to enter upon it here. It only remains to add that in 1875 the ownership of the Michigan Central having passed into New York hands, the offices were removed from Boston. The company then owned and operated eight hundred and three miles of track, representing in all forty millions of securities. Unlike the Michigan Central, the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy continued to be chiefly owned and managed in Boston. At the close of 1880, and as the result of less than thirty years of expansive development, it had become a system by itself, serving a vast extent of country. It owned, leased, and operated over three thousand miles of road, or eleven hundred more miles than there were at the same date within the limits of Massachusetts. Having crossed the Mississippi at Burlington, it crossed the Missouri at Plattsmouth, and extended several hundred miles toward the Rocky Mountains on the west; while towards the south it reached Kansas City. At this point it connected with the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé, and at Omaha with the Union Pacific.

Both of these last named lines also had been mainly constructed by Boston enterprise, and were largely owned and controlled in that city. The history of the Union Pacific does not need to be recounted. It was built, when it was, wholly through the almost reckless energy of Oakes Ames; and Oliver Ames was its first president. Its general offices were removed from New York to Boston in 1869. In 1872 the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé was an incompleted enterprise, with a road two hundred and eighteen miles in length, extending from Atchison to Hutchinson in the western part of Kansas. At about that time it attracted the attention of certain leading business men of Boston, among whom were the banking firm of Kidder, Peabody, & Co., and Thomas and Joseph Nickerson. Obtaining control of the company, these gentlemen carried the road through to Pueblo in Colorado in 1876; and after the business revival, which took place two years later, the enterprise in their hands became one of the most brilliantly successful in the business history of the country. Joseph Nickerson had died in 1880, and the same year Thomas Nickerson retired from the presidency of the company, being succeeded by T. J. Coolidge. Kidder, Peabody, & Co. had disposed of their interest in 1878. The company's securities were, however, still held in greatest part in Boston hands, and the whole manage-

ment of the property was there. In March, 1881, a connection of this road with the Southern Pacific was effected, and it thus became a portion of the second trans-continental line. At that time it owned, leased, or operated two thousand two hundred miles of track, representing over fifty millions of securities. The three combinations, — the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy, the Union Pacific, and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé, — all of which in whole or greatest part originated in the private enterprise of Boston, and, having been constructed by the city's capital, were controlled from thence, — represented in 1880 no less than ten thousand miles of railroad and three hundred and forty millions of securities. At the same time the nine corporations owning railroads having independent *termini* in Boston itself controlled a little over seventeen hundred miles of track, represented by one hundred and twenty millions of securities. Much the larger Boston railroad development had thus been west of Chicago. The local Boston system — that making the city its point for radiation — never overstepped the narrow boundaries of New England.

Of the influence which its railroad system, at home and abroad, exercised on the subsequent growth and municipal character of Boston but little needs to be said. In these respects the city's experience has been in no respect peculiar. And yet the subject cannot be dismissed without particular reference; for here, as elsewhere, the year 1835 marked an historical dividing line. The world we now live in came into existence then; and, humanly speaking, it is in almost every essential respect a different world from that lived in by the preceding six generations. Down to 1835 Boston was still the provincial New-England capital. So far as intercourse with Europe or with the interior was concerned, the motive power in use was the same that had been in use when in 1632 Winthrop first visited Plymouth. He then sailed across the bay to Weymouth, and on the return journey Governor Bradford loaned him his horse. So in 1835, except on interior waters, the sail and the horse were still the only agencies of commerce and travel. As respects population, Boston it is true had since the Revolution very considerably increased; and the ancient form of town government had been laid aside. In all essential respects, however, the place was still only a large town. Territorially it was confined to the old natural limits, within which dwelt not the residents of the city alone, but those also who were regularly engaged in business in it. The range even of country abode and summer resort was limited to neighboring towns, such as Roxbury, Brookline, Dorchester, Cambridge, and Watertown, — now suburban, though then rural enough, — within the distance of an easy noon-day drive. Of modern seashore residence it may be said that there was almost actually none. The home had to be near the place of business. The office or the counting-room, it is true, was no longer in the dwelling-house, but it was in some street conveniently near to it. Every one, too, had some calling by which he was at least supposed to earn a living; and to have none was looked

upon as scarcely respectable. No generation had yet grown up accustomed to wealth from its birth; there was no class of men of leisure. The railroad changed all this. It brought to Boston the full current of modern city life,— turning the large New-England town into a metropolis, if a provincial one. Of the rapid increase both in wealth and population which then ensued, the figures of the census tell the story. It would be foreign to the purpose to dwell upon it here. There is, however, another story which the census does not tell. In a quarter of a century after the three initial railroads were opened, both the ancient city limits and the modes of life traditionally pursued within them had disappeared. Boston had become the counting-house, as it were,—the daily business exchange,—of a vast concourse of active men having their homes in every neighboring town within a limit of thirty miles. The ancient municipalities immediately adjoining the city had been absorbed into it: Salem, Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, and Worcester became its suburbs. Meanwhile business vocations not only diversified themselves, but they increased in volume, so as to lose all proportion with what they had been. New branches of industry came into existence, and their rapid growth soon caused them to overshadow the traditional callings which were inseparably associated in the New-England mind with the idea of accumulation. Down to the time when the three earliest Boston railroad lines were opened together in 1835, all the large fortunes, as they were then thought, had their origin in the fisheries, in the carrying trade, and in foreign commerce. Thenceforth these were to become of minor importance.

Men of a former generation thus found themselves puzzled. They saw change going on, and they mistook it for decay. Under the altered conditions, new points of distribution and new channels for reaching out from them came into being; and the old channels, and the branches of trade which had immemorially flowed in them, dwindled by degrees and then disappeared. Foreign commerce languished; sailing ships from Canton, from Calcutta, from Russia, from the Levant, and the west coasts of Africa and America no longer unloaded at the wharves. Grass seemed likely to grow in front of those warehouses, from the counting-room windows of which the old-fashioned merchants had been wont to look down on the decks of their vessels. Hence it came about that the period of Boston's most rapid growth was also the period in which the loudest and most dismal forebodings of the city's commercial decline were incessantly heard.

The whole of no community ever readily adapts itself to a far-reaching change of business conditions. In this case the interior of a continent was springing into civilized life. Those who could not realize the fact, or who from habit or slowness of perception were not in harmony with the new order of things, were ruined. Left stranded by the course of events, they disappeared. A wholly new America was meanwhile shaping itself,— an America with which the relations of Boston and New England were yet to be established. New York remained the financial centre of the whole; but Chicago, in 1835 a mere out-post town on the shores of Lake Michigan,

was transformed into the chief distributing point of an interior, in comparison with which that region which the foreign trade of Boston once supplied, was lost in insignificance.[1] Boston meanwhile developed into the local centre of a busy manufacturing population dwelling and working in all eastern New England. This was its home function. As respects the new interior of the continent and foreign countries, the tendency of railroad development is to reduce all seaboard cities into being mere points of transshipment,—conduits, as it were, of modern trade. They are, indeed, of hardly more account in the process of distribution on this scale than those interior towns through which the freight trains laden with corn and meat pass rapidly on their way to the East, shortly to return carrying the bonded wares of Europe in their unbroken packages to the custom-houses of the West.

Between 1835 and 1880, then, the introduction of the railroad and the development of the railroad system, as it changed every other considerable city, changed Boston also. They changed it both within itself, and in its relations with other countries and other portions of the common country. The former capital of provincial New England had not become one of the great railroad centres of the continent. Geographical position alone probably put this out of the question. It had not, however, developed into nearly so considerable a railroad centre as it might at one time have been made. In this respect opportunities had been lost. Nevertheless, as a railroad centre of the second class the position of Boston was well defined and considerable. Within its own territory the city was supreme; and that territory was populous, busy, and wealthy. Beyond its territory the railroad enterprise and railroad investments of those dwelling in Boston had sent back to it a tide of wealth, which reduced to insignificance the old-time profits. Meanwhile, so far as foreign commerce and a share in the handling of the great volume of commodities and exchanges passing between the interior and the ports of other nations are concerned, the city had much more than held its own, and its outlook for the future in 1880 was brighter than ever before in its history.

Charles F. Adams Jr.

[1] In 1820 the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements stated in the report already referred to (see *ante*.), that "the tract of country which at present can carry its surplus produce to Boston more easily than to any other sea-port, and which can receive its foreign supplies from thence most conveniently, contains a population not exceeding 300,000 souls" (p. 44).

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE IN BOSTON.

BY HENRY P. KIDDER AND FRANCIS H. PEABODY.

THE history of the growth of Boston as a centre of financial enterprise and wealth necessarily includes the story of its connection with many undertakings of sufficient magnitude and importance to require separate treatment in other chapters of this work. Although shipping and the foreign trade in the early days, and in more recent times the manufacture of goods for the markets of the country, either in Boston or in other cities and towns of New England, and the construction and operation of railroads have given the greatest impetus to enterprise and the greatest additions to the wealth of the city, yet in this place a brief reference only can be made to the development of these enterprises. But if circumstances require that they shall seemingly occupy a subordinate place, it is necessary that their true importance shall be recognized at the very outset.

Boston was from its foundation comparatively a rich and prosperous town. It was the political and trading centre of the colony, and, as the colonies grew into States, of New England. In these respects it was second only to Philadelphia in all the colonies during the Revolutionary period. When the first census of the United States was taken in 1790, the whole population of the country was a little short of four millions, of whom nearly or quite one fourth were directly dependent upon Boston as their financial and commercial capital. From an account[1] written four years later, in 1794, we may obtain an excellent idea of the material condition of Boston just after the close of the Revolutionary War.[2] The population at that time was about nineteen thousand. It had two banks, one of them already ten years old, chartered by the Commonwealth, besides a branch of the United States Bank; some eighty wharves and quays, and a large domestic and foreign trade. Ship-building had been carried on very extensively in former years, but had, at the date of Mr. Pemberton's writing, been for the most part transferred to other coast towns.[3] There were at one time twenty-seven

[1] "Description of Boston," by T. Pemberton; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 241.

[2] [See Mr. Hill's chapter in this volume.—ED.]

[3] [See the chapter on "Industries," and the references there, and further extracts from Pemberton in Mr. Hill's chapter. — ED.]

dock-yards, and upwards of sixty vessels had been on the stocks at once. One yard had launched as many as twelve ships in one year.

The foundation of the financial strength which Boston has enjoyed in a peculiar degree during the last century was, without doubt, laid when the banking system was established. The usefulness of the modern instruments for economizing the use of money, by means of combination and concentration of wealth, and for increasing its power by the same means, was recognized at a very early day. The wisdom, or the chance, which led the legislators of the last century to adopt measures which, while they encouraged such concentration of wealth and energy, served to give security both to the owners of the capital of banks and to depositors in them, supplemented as it has been by a generally consistent adherence to conservative and correct principles of banking, have done more than anything else to give to Boston the rank as a financial centre which it enjoys, — a rank to which neither its position as a nucleus of population nor its situation with respect to the trade of the country would ever have conferred. The banks of Boston have been safe and strong at times when those of other cities have been weak. They have never led the way in a suspension of specie payments, nor have they ever been backward in resuming. Disasters among them have been rare, and seldom or never attended with serious consequences to sister institutions elsewhere, or to the commercial world. They have helped greatly in sustaining credit, both public and private; and reciprocal assistance has been rendered to them in the shape of a strong public sentiment, which was as free from unreasonable jealousy of their power as it was from toleration of dangerous tendencies in banking.

A bank was established in Boston as early as 1689; but neither that nor any one of several successors during the following century had a long life, or was fortunate while it still existed.[1] In March, 1782, the Bank of North America, founded in Pennsylvania, was chartered also by Massachusetts, and opened a branch in Boston. Although no record of the operations of this bank has been preserved, it is known that its success was sufficient to lead to the charter of a purely local bank in Boston two years later. This latter institution, the Massachusetts Bank, is still in a state of prosperous existence under a national charter. It began business on July 5, 1784, with an authorized capital of $300,000, of which $253,500 was paid in.[2] The

[1] [Professor W. G. Sumner's chapter on "Monetary Development," in *The First Century of the Republic*, cites as the chief contemporary authorities on colonial matters of this kind two Boston books, — Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay* (very intelligent and correct on finance, he says), and Douglass's *Summary* (unequal but valuable, as he accounts it). He also esteems of great value a pamphlet published in Boston in 1740, *Discourse concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations*. The reader who is curious to trace the instructive history of our currency in the pre-Revolutionary periods may find — beside Felt's *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, 1839, and the references noted in Vol. I. p. 354, and Vol. II. p. 467 — something of more or less advantage in the following: *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1863, and April, 1870 (by W. S. Appleton); *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Coll.*, iii. 148; and *Proceedings*, March 16 and April 25, 1866; *N. E. Hist. and Genealog. Reg.*, July, 1860, p. 261. The story will serve as an illustrative commentary on the financial history of our own day, and needs to be well written. — Ed.]

[2] [See further on its formation in the chapter by Mr. H. A. Hill, in the present volume. — Ed.]

rules[1] adopted for the management of its business were of the most stringent character, but were exceedingly wholesome in their operation, and the Massachusetts Bank secured a good amount of profitable business. The dividends fluctuated somewhat during the early years of its existence, but the average of the years 1791 and 1792 was sixteen per cent. Its assured success led, in the latter year, to the establishment of a rival, — the Union Bank; and about the same time a branch of the United States Bank was opened in Boston. The Union Bank was the first of a series of banks organized under charters having some peculiar provisions. Its capital was fixed at $1,200,000, of which one third was subscribed by the State in its corporate capacity. The bank was forbidden to issue any circulating notes for less than five dollars, or to owe more than twice its capital in addition to its deposits, — the penalty for transgressing this last restriction being the personal liability of the directors for the excess. It was provided that one fifth of the bank funds should be appropriated to loans outside of Boston, for the benefit of agriculture, in sums not less than $100 or more than $1,000, secured by mortgages of real estate, and having not less than one year to run.[2]

Such was the origin of the system which not only rendered available the wealth of Boston merchants, but, becoming metropolitan, absorbed a large part of the banking reserves of New England, and thus made the surplus of the whole group of States helpful in carrying forward Boston enterprises.

At this time, and for many years afterward, Boston was chiefly a commercial port. The great fortunes that were made were acquired in the foreign trade, — like those of Russell, Phillips, Perkins, and others, and that of Mr. William Gray, who made his fortune as a Salem merchant, and then came to Boston to enjoy it. In the years from 1786, perhaps a little earlier, down to the time of the second war with Great Britain, the trade of Boston with China and the East Indies, and to a smaller degree with other countries, was the distinguishing feature of the town's commercial enterprise. But there was another movement going on at the same time which exercised even then, and was destined in after years to exert to a greater extent, an influence upon the future of Boston. The very smallness of the area of the town, and its inaccessibility, served to open a field for financial activity and

[1] The maximum loan to one person at one time was $3,000; no person was allowed to owe the bank more than $5,000 at the same time; and $7,500 was the largest sum for which any person could be liable to the bank as promisor and endorser. Renewal of notes was absolutely forbidden. The person who failed to meet his note was not only obliged to submit to the immediate sale of his security, but he was denied the privilege of having any further notes discounted for a period of eight months thereafter, unless the penalty were remitted by a unanimous vote of the directors The rules, which were "not to be deviated from in the smallest instance nor on any pretence whatever," also required that the names of delinquents should be posted in a conspicuous place in the bank.

[2] Most of the subsequent charters of Boston banks, until the year 1816, contain provisions similar to these, with some variations in detail. The State subscription became an ordinary feature of the bank charter, so that in 1812 the Commonwealth owned about $1,000,000 in stock of its own corporations, being nearly one eighth of all the banking capital of the State. This stock was all disposed of a few years later.

Mr Jackson presents his respects

Boston 11th March 1807 -[1]

speculation. Wharf property was more remunerative than almost any other kind of real estate, and vast sums for those times were invested in the filling

[1] [Copley painted five likenesses of Mr. Jackson (Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 78): one, a life-size crayon of the head, belonging to Jackson's granddaughter, Mrs. Oliver Wendell Holmes; a second, painted in 1768, in oils, half-size, belongs to Mrs. Charles Upham of Salem; a third, half-length, painted in England, belongs to a granddaughter, Susan Cabot Jackson; a fourth, an oval picture, belongs, with one of Mrs. Jackson, to Francis H. Jackson of Boston; the last is a pastel (23 × 17 inches), owned by Colonel Henry Lee, a grandson, and by his kind permission is followed in our cut. It was painted between 1761 and 1773. The morning-gown is of green, with a crimson collar.

Mr. Jackson was the first president of the Boston Bank, holding office from April, 1803, till his death in 1810. The first board of directors consisted of Thomas C. Amory, Samuel P. Gardner, Joseph Hall, Peter C. Brooks, Thomas K. Jones, James Lloyd, Jr., and James Perkins. The Editor is indebted to Colonel Lee for the following notice of Mr. Jackson: —

The Hon. Jonathan Jackson, descendant in the fourth generation from Edward Jackson, one of the first settlers of Cambridge, and afterwards of Newton, — "who brought a good estate to this town, and hath not been wanting to the ministry, or any good work among us," — and son of Edward Jackson (H. C. 1726) and Dorothy Quincy, was born in his father's house in Queen (now Court) Street, where Tudor's and a portion of Sears's Buildings now stand, June 4, 1743; graduated at Harvard

in of docks and the construction of piers. At the beginning of this century, too, ideas of the future greatness of Boston were strongly entertained by many of the wisest men of the town, and they took upon themselves the task of making preparations for the increase of business which they foresaw. Among the enterprises of this period, which can be barely alluded to in this chapter, were the connection that was made by means of bridges with Cambridge, Charlestown, and South Boston, the cutting down of Beacon Hill, so as to fit it for purposes of residence, the annexation of South Boston, and, later, the construction of the Mill-Dam, for the double use of a

College, 1761; moved afterwards to Newburyport, where he married Hannah, daughter of Patrick Tracy, Esq., an opulent merchant, and built by the side of the house of his friend Judge Lowell a splendid mansion, afterwards rendered absurd and notorious as "Lord" Timothy Dexter's house. Mr. Edward Jackson inherited £30,000 from his father, and increased it by commerce in partnership with his wife's brothers, Josiah and Edmund Quincy.

His son Jonathan, upon coming of age, received twenty thousand golden guineas. This and his wife's fortune were lost in commerce, or having been loaned to the Government were hence irrecoverable at the close of the Revolution, and from that time to his death he was dependent upon his salary. His public record is a long and honorable one: member of the Provincial Congress, 1775; representative, 1777; delegate to the Essex Convention, held in Ipswich, in 1778, whose report was the famous *Essex Result*; delegate to the convention to frame a Constitution for Massachusetts, and one of a committee to draft one; member of the Old Congress, 1782; State Senator, 1789; appointed by Washington marshal of the district of Massachusetts, a position held till 1791; inspector, then supervisor of excise, 1791–1802; treasurer of Massachusetts, 1802–1806; treasurer of Harvard College, 1807 till his death, March 5, 1810; also first president of the Boston Bank. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, also of the Humane Society; one of the founders and treasurer of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture. Caleb Cushing says of him: "He was one of the eminent Patriots of Essex during the Revolution and the early periods of our Constitutional history. He wrote some of the best political tracts of the day, etc." Theophilus Parsons, in his life of his father, the Chief-Justice, says: "From my boyhood I was accustomed to hear my father speak of him in terms which placed him before me as the embodiment of sound sense and absolute integrity, etc." In the *Memoir of John Bromfield*, he is thus spoken of: "Hon. Jonathan Jackson, the father of Mrs. Francis Cabot Lowell and Mrs. Henry Lee, a man distinguished in his day for his many excellencies of head and heart. He was educated at Harvard College, Cambridge, and was one of the most accomplished and elegant specimens of old-school manners known among us, or, as was once said of him by a friend, in the words of Sir Walter: 'He was, indeed, a princely knight and courtly gentleman.' Quincy, in his *History of Harvard University*, thus alludes to him: "The Hon. Jonathan Jackson was elected his (Storer's) successor, and retained the office until his death, which occurred in March, 1810; on which occasion the Corporation passed a vote of sympathy with his friends and the public in the loss of a man of talents, integrity, amiable and courteous manners, who discharged the duties of Treasurer and member of the Corporation with reputation to himself and distinguished utility to the University and the public." President Kirkland, writing to Josiah Quincy, April 12, 1810, notices the death of Mr. Jackson: "You have observed and know of the loss of Mr. Jonathan Jackson. A great loss So true, so upright, so amiable a spirit cannot take its flight without leaving a melancholy chasm."

Two incidents in the life of this gentleman illustrate his chivalric spirit. The first is narrated by the historian of Newton, and is singularly omitted in Livermore's book: "He took an early and zealous part in the Revolution, was an ardent friend of liberty, and the owner of a slave. Seeing his inconsistency, he placed on record in the Suffolk Probate Office the following document, a noble testimony: —

"'Know all men by these presents, that I, J. Jackson, of Newburyport, in the County of Essex, gentleman, in consideration of the impropriety I feel, and have long felt, in holding any person in constant bondage, — more especially at a time when my country is so warmly contending for the liberty which every man ought to enjoy, — and having some time since promised my negro man Pomp that I would give him his freedom, and in further consideration of five shillings, paid me by said Pomp, I do hereby liberate, manumit, and set him free; and I do hereby remise and release unto said Pomp all demands of whatever nature I have against Pomp. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 19th June, 1776.

"'JONATHAN JACKSON.

"'Witness:
"'MARY COBURN,
"'WILLIAM NOYES.'

"This document is dated just two weeks before the glorious Declaration of Independence was issued, proclaiming all men to be born free. Pomp enlisted in the army as Pomp Jackson, served through the War of the Revolution, and received an honorable discharge. He afterwards settled in Andover, near a pond still known as Pomp's Pond."

The other incident exhibits the inviolability of his friendship, and the degree of his disinterestedness. Mr. Jackson, like many more, having lost his vast acquired and inherited fortune by capture of his ships and by loans to the Government during the war, was compelled to apply for an office to eke out his support. The evening before he was to leave home, his friend, General Lincoln, requested a private interview, and imparted his anxiety for the future, having come home from the war penniless, and expressed his desire to obtain the office of collector of the port of Boston. This was the office upon which Mr. Jackson had set his heart, but this did not affect his resolve. He went to New York, waited upon the President, and, after some days' attendance, was admitted to an interview. Washington, taking out his watch, said curtly: "I will give you, Sir, fifteen minutes." Mr. Jackson began to set forth General Lincoln's needs and claims, when he was peremptorily stopped by, "You need not tell me about General Lincoln, Sir." He then explained why he spoke in his behalf, and the interview ended without a word spoken for himself, and General Lincoln was appointed collector. Judge Charles Jackson, Dr. James Jackson, and Mr. Patrick Tracy Jackson, sons of Jonathan, occupied as large and as high a position in their respective professions and in the esteem of their neighbors as any three men who ever lived in Boston. — ED.]

highway, on which tolls were collected, and the creation of a tidal water-power.[1]

The enumeration of these undertakings shows that Boston was even then an enterprising town. The money accumulated by merchants was well employed in improving and beautifying the place. That was before the time of foreign investments. There were no railroads to absorb accumulated earnings, no organized manufactures, no great corporate or municipal loans to serve as investments of trust funds. Even if there had been such, the time was now at hand when there was to be no large surplus for investment in any new enterprise. The first twenty years of the present century were trying times for business. The poverty caused by the war, aggravated by a wretchedly deranged currency, was soon increased by the interruption which the embargo and a second war gave to foreign commerce. Considering what that commerce was to Boston, — its life-blood almost, — the wonder is not that the suffering which was experienced was as great as it was, but that the evils of the time were so bravely borne and so speedily recovered from.[2]

Among those who devoted themselves at this time to the improvement of Boston with full faith in its future, none deserves more prominent notice or higher honor than Uriah Cotting. Mr. Cotting was the projector and the guiding spirit in nearly every enterprise involving the development of the town for business during the first twenty years of this century. He obtained the charter of the Broad Street Association, by which a large district, previously covered with small, inconvenient, and dilapidated buildings, was made available for purposes of commerce. He also led the way in the Central Wharf and India Wharf improvements. He devised the opening of Brattle Street and Cornhill. He was the largest proprietor of the Wheeler's Point estate, through which Sea Street, now Federal Street, was extended. He was, moreover, a large owner of lands on and near Leverett Street, and at the Neck. He acquired property consisting of flats near Lewis Wharf, where he planned the Marginal Wharf speculation, which was substantially carried out a quarter of a century later under Mayor Quincy, when the new streets east of North (then Ann) Street, were laid out, and the long market-house built. His greatest work, however, was the Mill-Dam, which he projected, and of which he was the first engineer, but which he did not live to see finished. He died in 1819 of consumption.

Mr. Cotting deservedly enjoyed during his life a reputation second to that of no other citizen of Boston. Mr. N. I. Bowditch, in a notice of him, printed in the *Boston Courier* of May 27, 1852, a week after the death of Mr. Cotting's aged widow, said that he was "a man to whom Boston is more indebted than to any other of her citizens. His sagacity, enterprise, and public spirit were truly unrivalled. . . . He was a man of the strictest integrity, in whose talents and judgment the most unbounded confidence

[1] [See Mr. Stanwood's chapter on "The Topography and Landmarks of the last Hundred Years." — Ed.]

[2] [See Mr. Hamilton A. Hill's chapter on "The Trade, Commerce, and Navigation of Boston, 1780–1880," in the present volume. — Ed.]

was reposed, and had he lived would undoubtedly have become one of our wealthiest citizens." Mr. Bowditch relates that, supposing himself to be wealthy, he began the erection of a magnificent house on Beacon Street, "which would have been, even for our times, truly a palace; but non-intercourse and the embargo, followed by war with England, came on. Commerce was prostrated; real estate declined in value; rents fell off; his own health began to fail." Under these circumstances Mr. Cotting not only ceased work on his house, but pulled down what he had built, and sold the land. At the time of his death the depression in all kinds of property was very great, and the sale of the equities which he held in a great number of estates brought but a small sum to the heirs.[1]

Unfortunate as was the influence of the disturbance preceding the war of 1812, and that of the war itself, upon commerce, and particularly upon the trade of Boston, there were some compensations. The story of those times, as it is to be gathered from the newspapers of the period, is amazingly beclouded with much that is probably false and still more that is unquestionably untrue. New England was bitterly opposed to the embargo, and opposed to the war even to the verge of unpatriotic selfishness. Its commerce was completely destroyed. What followed is not in the least degree surprising. Smuggling became common, and it was engaged in by wealthy and respectable men. Moreover, many rich prizes of war were brought into Boston. In this way the town became a most important centre of trade, and in fact almost the sole source of supply of certain classes of foreign goods that could not be legally admitted into the country at all This traffic was nevertheless profitable to a few only, who made large fortunes while most of the people were suffering, with the rest of the country, from the effects of the war. Boston was, no doubt, as one historian of the times puts it, "the financial autocrat of the country."

In 1811, three years after the passage of the Embargo Act, the Democrats came into power in Massachusetts. One of the acts of Governor Gerry's Legislature was to charter a good Democratic bank. It was the State Bank, which is still in existence, and was intended as an offset to the two banks already established, which were run on Federal principles. It was designed also to be the financial agent of the Commonwealth. Federalists offered to pay $100,000 for a charter precisely similar, and the Democrats, in order to avoid the appearance of evil, laid upon the capital of the State Bank an annual tax of one half of one per cent, and rechartered the two already doing business, whose charters were about to expire. This judicious compromise restored peace, as well as the appropriate equilibrium of parties so far as banking was concerned; but the political warfare was

[1] Important pieces of land were sold for five or ten dollars over the mortgages upon them. Only a year or two later, real estate rose much in value, and the purchasers gained handsome profits. The conveyances to and from Mr. Cotting on the registries of Suffolk County number twelve hundred and thirty, on forty-one streets and wharves, in all parts of Boston. So extensive was his ownership on Fort Hill, that a mere abstract of his conveyances there occupies fifty-eight folio pages.

waged as hotly as ever. During the war loud complaints were made of the unpatriotic manner in which the capitalists and bankers of Boston kept their purse-strings tightly drawn. Such complaints were, no doubt, justified to some extent; but party rancor carried the accusation of disloyalty be-

WILLIAM GRAY.[1]

yond all bounds. In 1813 the currency was in a fearfully deranged condition. Boston, but to a still greater extent the western part of the State, was flooded with the notes of New York and Vermont banks. The banks of Boston, in order to keep themselves strong in those troubled times,

[1] [The likeness herewith given follows a portrait of the first president of the State Bank, painted by Stuart in 1807, and owned by the Hon. William Gray. Mr. Gray was born at Lynn, June 27, 1750, and died at Boston, Nov. 25, 1825, and had the reputation of being the largest ship-owner in the country. He lived on Summer Street, in the mansion previously occupied by Governor Sullivan, and built the wharf at the North End known as Gray's Wharf. He is said to have owned at one time sixty square-rigged vessels. Soon after his coming to Boston he was elected lieut.-governor on the ticket with Governor Gerry, with whom he agreed in politics, and he was one of the few Boston merchants who sustained the embargo. During the war he had done much to promote the purposes of the administration. Drake's *Landmarks of Boston*, 201. — ED.]

made but a small emission of notes. According to the returns made to the State, the four banks of the town had more than four and a half millions in specie in their vaults; but their aggregate circulation was less than a million and a half. Foreign notes (that is, those that were issued out of Boston), were at a discount of from three to five per cent. By a law passed in 1810, any Massachusetts bank which refused to pay a note on demand was liable to pay to the holder two per cent a month until the note was redeemed. By the same law, notes issued by banks beyond the limits of the State were made unbankable.

It was at this juncture that the New England Bank was chartered. Immediately upon beginning business it gave out that it would charge only the actual cost of sending foreign money home to the issuing bank and obtaining the specie, to any persons who might desire to avail themselves of the privilege. The result was that the discount on bills of Massachusetts banks out of Boston was at once reduced to one half of one per cent. The bank also sent home the notes of banks outside of the State. Notwithstanding the evident purpose of this policy, to restore order to the currency and to protect the merchants of Boston from loss, the suspicious politicians chose to put another interpretation upon it. They maintained that it was a part of a scheme to drain the country of specie, and to prevent those who were patriotic from contributing to the necessities of the government in the time of its peril. In January, 1814, the Legislature of Massachusetts received the memorial of the New England Bank, in which it was narrated that the bills of certain New York banks, amounting in the whole to the sum of $138,874, having been sent home for redemption, the specie having been received and loaded in three wagons and transported as far as Chester, the collector of New York had ordered the money back and deposited it in the Manhattan Bank of which he was a director. He assigned as a reason for this action that he suspected the money was to be sent to Canada. The General Court passed resolutions condemning the high-handed act, referring the matter to the President of the United States, and demanding the removal of the offending officer. The specie was restored, but there is no evidence that the collector was even rebuked.

The historians generally have done less than justice to this city and State in their accounts of the War of 1812. Lossing, for example, not only adopts the unwarranted suspicion of the bank-director of New York, who was in a position to worry the New England Bank for requiring payment of the circulating notes of his bank, but actually generalizes upon it, and intimates that Boston was in the habit of sending money to Canada. He goes so far as to lay it to the account of Boston that British bills of exchange were sold in New York and Philadelphia. He says that the terms were made attractive so as to draw specie away from the patriotic cities, and thus he makes Boston responsible for the sins of other cities. It can be said, however, that if any sums at all were sent from Boston to the Provinces the evidence does not appear in the bank statements of the time. From 1811

to 1814 the holding of specie in the Boston banks increased from $830,829 to $5,466,659. In the latter year all the banks of the country except those of New England suspended specie payments, and consequently the banks of this section became the reservoir from which the whole country drew. Thus at the very time when the use of silver in illicit trade with the enemy was charged upon Boston, the stock of silver was increasing at a rapid rate.

The period of non-intercourse with Great Britain, which was more or less complete from the beginning of 1808 to the Treaty of Ghent at the end of 1814, was fruitful of good to this country in one important respect. The people were forced to engage in manufactures, for the simple reason that foreign goods were not to be had. Home industry was protected by the most potent of weapons. Previous to this time the cotton manufacture had been begun, in a small and desultory way, at factories fitted with British machinery, in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and other States; but they were all small and poorly equipped establishments. The war sent up the price of cotton goods enormously. Cloth that retailed previously for seventeen to twenty cents a yard, having been imported from England, now sold for seventy-five cents a yard by the package. The whole demand being thrown upon the domestic supply, factory building was greatly stimulated. Trustworthy statistics are not to be had, but it appears that more than seventy factories were built in Rhode Island alone, between the years 1810 and 1815. The growth of this interest in Massachusetts was quite as great in proportion, and larger in actual numbers. At this time was laid the foundation of the manufacturing supremacy of Massachusetts which, although figures seem to tell a different tale, she has never lost. The tariff of 1816, which followed soon after the close of the war, also helped to some extent in fostering the infant industry, although its purpose was to help the South rather than New England, which had so grievously offended the war party. Other manufactures, notably that of woollen goods, had been much stimulated by the non-intercourse policy, but it derived little or no benefit from the subsequent protective legislation.

The period succeeding the war, from 1815 to 1819, was one of severe pressure all over the country, but owing to the strength and soundness of the Massachusetts banks, and the comparatively excellent condition of the currency, the evil was not so great here as it was in most other States. Some new banks were chartered at this time, but they had difficulty in raising their capital, and numerous acts were passed by the Legislature extending the time for its payment. It was during this period that the Provident Institution for Savings, the first savings-bank in the country, was established, in the year 1816. It was highly successful from the start, and its experience led to the gradual extension of the system. The savings-banks of the State have been in general managed with much prudence, and have proved themselves to be of inestimable value in financial affairs. They have encouraged a spirit of thrift on the part of the poorer classes of the people,

giving them a safe place of deposit for their surplus earnings, and a small but certain income from them. The watchful care of the Legislature has been in nothing more wisely shown than in the restrictions laid upon the investment of the funds entrusted to the banks. At one time two or three of the earlier banks claimed exemption from rules imposed subsequent to the granting of their charters; but the opinion of the Supreme Court was asked, and, in consequence of the judgment rendered, it became an established principle that all these institutions were liable to be held under control. The chief part they have played during their whole existence has been in enabling large and small real estate improvements to be carried out, by mortgages upon the property to be improved. It is only necessary to say here, that, with a few scattered exceptions, each year has witnessed an increase in the number of banks of this class, and a still more important and rapid growth in the number of depositors and of deposits. The increase has frequently gone on in spite of general depression in business; and when at last the banks have begun to feel the effects of hard times, their recovery has not lagged behind that of the trade of the country.[1]

The period from 1819 to 1825 was one of expansion. Foreign trade was active and internal commerce was good.[2] This was the golden age of the insurance business in Boston.[3] How profitable it was may be gathered from the fact that when, in May, 1825, the American Insurance Company declared a dividend of six per cent on the business of the preceding six months, it was stated that in the ten years of its existence it had divided one hundred and eighty-seven per cent of its capital. Many banks of deposit and discount were also incorporated during this period; but some of them never went into operation. Nevertheless, the seven Boston banks of 1819 had become nineteen in 1825, and the capital was increased during the same time from $7,350,000 to $10,300,000.

It was towards the close of this period that the Suffolk Bank system, which has made New England banking famous for all time, was first introduced. The Suffolk Bank was chartered in 1818, as the seventh bank in Boston. Among the subscribers to its capital stock were Gardiner Greene, Patrick T. Jackson, John W. Boott, Nathan and William Appleton, William, Amos, Abbott, and Luther Lawrence, Ebenezer Francis, Augustine Heard, and other well known capitalists of Boston. The new bank, having organized by the choice of Mr. Francis as president and Matthew S. Parker as cashier, turned its attention at once to the "foreign money" business; that is, the redemption of bank-notes issued by institutions outside of Boston, then monopolized by the New England Bank. The principle on which this business was done may be seen from the votes of the directors in February, 1819: "That if any bank will deposit with the Suffolk Bank

[1] Only one serious disaster, affecting the soundness of many of the banks at once, has ever occurred, and that will be referred to in its appropriate place.

[2] [See Mr. H. A. Hill's chapter. — Ed.]

[3] [See the chapter on "The Rise and Progress of Insurance in Boston," by Mr. Osborne Howes, Jr. — Ed.]

five thousand dollars as a permanent deposit, with such further sums as shall be sufficient from time to time to redeem its bills taken by this bank, such bank shall have the privilege of receiving its own bills at the same discount at which they are purchased;" also that certain banks in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which were named, "shall have the privilege of receiving such of their bills as may be received at the same discount as taken, without the permanent deposit of five thousand dollars, provided such banks will make all their deposits at the Suffolk Bank, and at all times have money sufficient to redeem the bills taken;" further, "that should any bank refuse to make the deposit required, the bills of such banks shall be sent home for payment at such times and in such manner as the directors may hereafter order and direct."

A lively competition with the New England Bank was the result of this action of the bank, and the discount on foreign money was quickly reduced. After a short time the profits became so small that the Suffolk Bank was forced to reduce its expenses. A great deal of ill feeling was caused by the persistency with which the bills of country banks were returned for redemption; but the Suffolk Bank insisted upon its right, and the banks affected were forced to submit. In 1824 the city was flooded with the issues of these banks. Boston, having more than one half of the banking capital of New England, supplied only one twenty-fifth part of the currency. Accordingly, early in that year, a committee of two of the directors of the Suffolk Bank — Messrs. John A. Lowell and William Lawrence — were directed to consider, in connection with committees of other Boston banks, what measures might be adopted to check the evil of the enormous expansion of country, and especially eastern, currency. Correspondence and conferences ensued, and the result was that the Suffolk Bank became the agent of all the banks of the city except the New England, to send home the bills of outside banks for redemption. A fund of $300,000 was subscribed by these banks in proportion to their respective capitals, for the purchase, indiscriminately, of foreign money. Intense opposition arose at once to this combined effort of the Boston banks to relieve themselves and the city of the great over-issues of bank bills. The association was called in derision the "Holy Alliance," and the "Six-tailed Bashaw." But the opposition was unavailing. The Boston banks knew they were only acting within their rights when they treated a bank bill as a promise to pay money on demand. Yet long after the great benefits of the new arrangement had made themselves evident, giving as it were a certificate of soundness to all the banks whose notes were received by the Suffolk Bank, and warning all banks of the danger of taking any bills of banks thrown out at the counter of the Suffolk, the unreasoning hostility was continued.[1] Nevertheless the business increased very rapidly. With some minor modifications the Suffolk

[1] As an example of this hostility may be cited the angry remonstrance by the *Hartford Times*, in an article printed in July, 1827, against the too cautious acceptance of country bank-bills by the Boston banks, which were charged with being "up to their old tricks."

Bank system was continued until 1858, when the Bank of Mutual Redemption was established for the special purpose of serving as agent of all the New England banks in the redemption of their bills.[1] The amount of foreign money which passed through the Suffolk Bank in 1857, the last year of its service as the agent of the associated banks of Boston, reached the vast sum of four hundred millions, which is a much larger sum than the redemption agency at Washington, under the National Bank system, has ever been required to handle in the same length of time. The expense of doing all this work was but $40,000.

The years from 1825 to 1830 were marked by a very large increase in the number of banks in Massachusetts, though there were but three additions to the Boston list. It was at this time that a spirit of recklessness seemed to come upon the projectors of banks. Felt says, in his *History of Massachusetts Currency*, that "before 1825 these institutions were promoted and sustained chiefly by capitalists; but since, they have been much oftener made up for the purpose of borrowing and not of lending, for rash enterprises to gain fortunes at the risk of the community." The charters of three country banks, granted in 1825 and 1828, were repealed in 1830. They had been put in operation by means of perjury. They had violated nearly every provision of their charters, and were in an unsafe condition. Stringent laws were enacted to prevent a repetition of the scandal; but they were easily evaded, and the succeeding period was one of the most disgraceful and disastrous in the history of Massachusetts banking.

The severe pressure for money which had been felt at various times between 1825 and 1830 now began to pass away. With an abundance of money to be had at a low rate of interest, the spirit of speculation revived in its most active form. The bank fever was at its height. In seven years, ending with 1837, the number of banks in Boston was doubled, increasing from seventeen to thirty-four. Outside of Boston they rose from the num-

[1] It is hardly worth while at this time either to give the particulars of the history of Suffolk Bank redemption, or to dwell upon the incidents of the controversy which finally resulted in the overthrow of the system as it was originally. A very full and interesting account of the bank and its operations for sixty years may be found in Mr. D. R. Whitney's monograph, *The Suffolk Bank*, privately printed in 1878. But it may be worth while to give one example of the ingenious methods of opposition which were sometimes resorted to for the purpose of punishing the Suffolk Bank for its zeal in requiring debtors to pay what they owed.

The Veazie Bank of Bangor, Maine, was one of the most active opponents of the system. The officers of that bank procured the passage of a law by the Legislature of Maine, allowing to the banks of that State a certain delay after the presentation of their bills in which to redeem them. Mr. Whitney tells how this privilege was used. "Having received in the regular course of its business a quantity of Veazie Bank notes, the Suffolk Bank would send a messenger to Bangor and demand specie for the same. The bank would acknowledge the demand and claim the lawful delay. In the mean time it would collect Boston funds and send them to a well known Boston broker, who, himself no friend of the Suffolk Bank, would take great pleasure in exchanging them in one way and another for checks on that bank. He would then present himself at the bank, demand specie for his checks, and, with the coin thus obtained, pay it for the bills for which it had demanded specie some days before; in short, not only requiring the Suffolk Bank to hold the bills of the Veazie Bank for a certain specified time, but at the end of that time to furnish the specie for their redemption." The Veazie Bank, it may be remarked, flooded Maine with "shinplasters" at the beginning of the Civil War.

ber of forty-six to ninety-five. The new banks were used principally for the issue of circulating-notes, as may be seen from the following comparison of the situation of all the banks in the two years named: —

	Banks in Boston.		Country Banks.	
	1830.	1837.	1830.	1837.
Number	17	34	46	95
Capital	$12,350,000	$21,350,000	$6,945,000	$16,930,000
Deposits	2,194,230	6,560,076	1,380,726	1,907,122
Circulation	2,171,417	4,386,414	2,952,673	5,886,704
Specie	910,391	1,129,942	348,053	388,042

The excessive amount of capital to the business done, the increased amount of circulation, and the small proportion of specie in reserve, tell their own story of expansion and unsoundness. In 1836 the banks of Boston had barely ten per cent of the combined amount of their circulation and deposits in reserve, and the situation of the country banks was infinitely worse. The ratio of their circulation and deposits to the specie on hand was twenty-eight and one half to one.

While this strong tendency to the creation of unnecessary banks was one of the most prominent features of the financial history of this period, it was not the only one. Speculation in real estate ran riot. There has perhaps never been another time, either before or since, when this particular form of speculation assumed such proportions in the United States, or when it infected such numbers in the community. No better illustration could be given of it than may be drawn from the "Eastern Land Speculation," which brought ruin upon hundreds of persons in Boston and thousands in New England. The history of this craze has never been written; and the most that can be done now, until all that bears upon it is patiently collected from the records of the time, is to construct a brief narrative from the memories of the men, now all aged, who took part in the speculation.

There was a basis for the speculation, as there always must be for any general craze. Manufacturing by means of water-power was foreseen to be a great source of wealth for New England, and there were in Maine hundreds of unoccupied falls where the water was abundant and unfailing. The forests of Massachusetts were exhausted, and northern Maine was covered with a virgin growth of magnificent pines and other varieties of trees. The State had increased in population during the first ten years of its separate existence, not only more in proportion but more in actual numbers than the parent State. Emigration tended thither, and a strong belief existed in the future greatness of Maine. Add to all this that land

was almost incredibly cheap in the State[1] in 1830, and it will be seen that all the elements were present for a great speculation, particularly when money was plentiful and real estate was the favorite field for bold venture.

Nobody seems to be able to tell just how the madness began; but we find it in full control of New England in 1833 and 1834. In those and the two following years men apparently grew rich in a day. Mill sites, each suitable for a small grist-mill, rose to fabulous prices. Wild lands, which could hardly have been given away a few years before, and which were scarcely worth owning at any price, changed hands at an enormous valuation. It used to be a joke in Bangor that the hotels and boarding-houses were so full of Boston land-speculators that late comers were forced to pay high prices for the privilege of leaning, overnight, against a fence-post. The State sold lands by the township. A speculator would buy a township wholly on credit, like a pig in a poke, without the slightest knowledge of the character of the soil or the nature of the forest growth, if any, upon it. Then he would send an "explorer," of whom there were many professional ones, to investigate and report. In too many cases the explorer would find the attractions of Bangor too great to be resisted; and accordingly, after an ostentatious setting out on his mission, he would return secretly, and draw up from his imagination a report, favorable of course. It is related of one of these explorers that he was seen making a series of sketches of townships, upon each of which a liberal growth of pine-trees was exhibited, and through the centre of each of which was represented a fine stream of water. The gentleman who saw this expressed surprise that all the townships should be so favored. "Oh," replied the explorer, "Maine is well watered." It was, indeed! Fortified with a favorable report, the purchaser of the township would seek and quickly find a person eager to buy at an advance. As he had bought, so he would sell,—on credit. The second owner would repeat the process, taking a note for the purchase money; and so on.

This general method of operation was by no means confined to State lands. There were men who made it a business to go about taking bonds of all the real estate that the owners would sell. One who remembers well the incidents of the time says that almost the whole of the county of Kennebec was bonded to speculators. A bond for anything was salable. Women and boys engaged in this trade. Sorry as was the result of the craze, there are few men who were concerned in the speculation who do not recall the time with a twinkle of amusement in their eyes as soon as they begin to talk over old times, wondering at themselves as much as at others for their early folly. When the crash came, however, it was anything but amusing. Real fortunes, as well as paper ones, melted away in a night. The failure of any one of a series of holders of a piece of land toppled over the whole structure of credit. In a few short months the whole

[1] The land on which the State House in Augusta stands was sold for twelve and a half cents an acre.

speculation collapsed. So extreme was the depression which followed, that the land-agent of Maine, in his report at the beginning of 1838, urged the adoption of a system of cash payments for future sales of land, because "there are notes to a considerable amount in this office, taken in 1835, that can never be paid, all the parties to them having become bankrupt. . . . There is scarcely a man indebted to the land-office who would not find it exceedingly difficult to make immediate payment." A few men who took the precaution to sell out their lands and bonds at the high prices and get the money, or who were strong enough to hold on until prices became better, or who had kept out of the speculation until the collapse came and then bought properties for a song, became wealthy; but the largest part of the men concerned in the affair, among whom Boston merchants and capitalists were very prominent, lost heavily.

The period under consideration is to be mentioned for another undertaking, or class of undertakings, which have done more than anything else to increase the power and importance, in a financial sense, of this city. It was at this time that the railroad system was introduced. The connection of Boston with enterprises in this field, — both those which were designed to and did minister directly to the consequence of Boston among the cities of the country, and those which served only as outlets for the surplus capital of New England, and as remunerative investments in other parts of the country, — is told in another chapter.[1] It will be sufficient in this place to note very briefly the influence of railroads upon the wealth and business of Boston.

The purely local roads have consolidated the country within many miles of Boston into what is practically one city, and have concentrated, — more than is true of any other centre of population in the country, — the energies and the public spirit of all into one community. The roads which have a connection with the West or the South, or with both, have been most invaluable as agents for the distribution of New England products, and for the bringing of food either for consumption or export; and, although they have been merely independent termini of great systems, they have done their work as well, and with quite as great returns to the owners, as the railroads of any other State or district of the country. Finally, the investments beyond the State have been in the main so judicious that handsome profits have accrued to the capital placed in them, and have given Boston a financial standing which is directly comparable with that of New York, and is inferior to that of no other city on the continent.

The great interruption to business prosperity came at the end of a season of unexampled speculation and inflation, in 1837. The storm had been giving warning of its approach for many months. In Massachusetts the growing distrust had manifested itself late in the previous year by such incidents as the run on the Nahant Bank, which suspended with only $215 in specie on hand, but with liabilities outstanding, on circulation alone, of

[1] [By Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr. — Ed.]

$242,965. At the beginning of 1837 suspicion was entertained of the soundness of four banks, three of them in Boston, and an investigation was had. In spite of a whitewashing report, all four banks failed before 1840. In March occurred the New Orleans failures, which pulled down many New York houses, and these in turn prostrated mercantile firms in Boston. In a short time business had almost completely ceased. On May 10 the banks of New York suspended specie payments, and the next day a large meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, at which it was resolved that self-protection required the banks of Boston to do the same. On the 12th all the banks did so.

To most of the banks of Boston this was almost entirely a measure of precaution. There was then, as before and since, a class of banks which are distinguished for taking large risks in the hope of large profits. In 1837 the number of such institutions appears to have been unusually large. They were exclusively new banks, all the older banks being conservative and strong. This is shown by a letter written by the president of the Suffolk Bank to a brother president in Augusta, Maine, less than a fortnight after suspension. "In regard to resuming specie payments," he wrote, "I can only say that we are ready to commence again to-day, and intend to remain in this condition till others are also ready." Other banks in Boston were in quite as safe and ready a condition as the Suffolk.

The old Jacksonian controversy over the United States Bank is not worth reviving now; but there can be no gainsaying the fact that the inflation of the years from 1832 to 1837 was largely caused by the rush to get into a business which the repeal of the charter, or rather its non-renewal, was to leave more open to competition; that the distress was precipitated by the hard and unreasonable demands of the Government upon the banks for funds in large sums for the distribution of surplus revenue; and that after the suspension the Government aggravated rather than ameliorated the situation. The specie-circular of 1836, which required all payments for lands to be made in coin, was now followed by an order of the postmaster-general directing that specie alone should be received for postage. An immense indignation meeting was held in Faneuil Hall on May 17 to protest against this order, and some vigorous resolutions were passed, which of course had no effect. Business continued to be in a wretchedly prostrate condition all through the year 1837. Early in the following year it seemed to observers that the existing evil might be to a great extent removed, if the banks were to give evidence of their faith in the future by resuming. The Legislature passed a law which made it for the interest of the banks to begin paying their notes; and on May 10, just a year after the suspension, they resumed at the same time with the New York banks.

Although immediately after the suspension of 1837 the banks of the city, with one exception, banded themselves together for purposes of mutual protection and supervision, the period is strewn with wrecks of these institutions. The Associated Banks appointed a committee, "with full

power to examine into the condition of any bank in the association; to reprove and, if necessary, restrain banks which were disposed to transcend the limits of prudence; and to require them to give security for their circulating-notes held by any bank in the association."[1] By this action the Boston banks gave proof of the good faith of their long-continued policy of rigor towards the banks in other parts of New England, since they now applied to themselves a more rigid rule than they had ever attempted to impose upon others. While the supervision which was exercised over the banks operated to some extent as a restraint upon the more reckless members, it could not save those which were already insolvent. In July, 1837, the Franklin and Lafayette banks of Boston failed, with heavy liabilities and almost worthless assets. Some of the other banks expanded their circulation at the same time, but only to pay the penalty of their folly a little later. Confidence was gradually being restored as the excitement died away, when the public was startled, in January, 1838, by the failure of the Commonwealth Bank. This was the largest failure that had occurred among Boston banks up to that time; and it was particularly significant, owing to the circumstance that it was one of the institutions chosen by the General Government for the deposit of funds which were deemed unsafe in the Bank of the United States. Very soon afterward six other banks were forced to close their doors, four of them being Boston banks. The Legislature of 1838 promptly repealed the charters of ten banks, seven in Boston. These included, besides those already mentioned as having failed, the Commercial, Fulton, Kilby, and Hancock banks. Several other failures took place in following years, but only one, the Middling Interest, belonged to Boston. It is a fact worthy of notice that not one of the old Boston banks — those chartered before 1825 — was injured by the crisis. The mortality was heaviest among the latest comers into the field; not because they had not had time to strengthen themselves, so much as because they were created for purposes of speculation, and were conducted on a speculative basis. In addition to its vigorous action in annulling charters of failed banks, the Legislature of 1838 passed laws for the protection of the public in their dealings with banks, and created the Board of Bank Commissioners, who received large powers in the direction of examination and control of banks, — measures which fully justified themselves by their subsequent success in preventing reckless management, and in giving timely warning of disaster.

The period from 1840 to 1850 was one of large prosperity for Boston. It was then that the ocean carrying trade was most active at this port. Boston ships went everywhere. Here was the controlling market for many articles of foreign production of great importance; and even when the control of the sale was not here, a large part of the carrying was done in vessels owned in and sailing from Boston. During this decade the estab-

[1] *History of Banking in Massachusetts*, by Dudley P. Bailey, Jr.; *Bankers' Magazine*, October, 1876.

lishment of the Cunard Line, as a swift carrier of mails, passengers, and high-cost freight, gave increased importance to the city. Those who wish to learn how large a part of the life of Boston the arrivals and departures of the Cunard steamers made, may make the discovery by studying the record of events in the city at this period, as given in the *Boston Almanac*. Not once is the interesting fact of a movement of one of these vessels omitted. The pride of the people in the line is indicated by the enterprise with which a channel was cut for the "Britannia" to go to sea, that it might not be said that she was detained in the harbor because Boston was frozen up.

At the beginning of the last decade before the war, the memory of the terrible consequences of undue expansion which culminated in 1837 had mostly died out, and a new season of inflation set in. As before, the speculative rage manifested itself in a marked degree by the creation of new banks. But the legislatures of this period were more cautious than their predecessors in the period from 1830 to 1837 had been. The result of their wise caution was seen in the better resistance offered by all the banks when the disasters soon to come overtook the community. While the banks remained comparatively conservative, speculation of various kinds was rife; merchandise advanced rapidly in price, and all the elements conspired to prepare the way for a great financial revulsion.

Two events occurring in Boston at this time deserve more than a passing mention. The first was the establishment of the Boston Board of Trade, in 1854. This association was the result of an effort to concentrate the business energies of the city, then greatly divided, in order that a consistent and enterprising policy might be substituted for the hesitating and inharmonious methods that prevailed in reference to the interests of the port. The Board of Trade never succeeded in restoring Boston to its former maritime rank. New York, stimulated by the rivalry of sister cities, and aided both by natural advantages and by the systems of communication with the interior by means of canals and railroads, had gained a start which she easily maintained; and since the period under consideration she has greatly increased her lead. Nevertheless, the Board of Trade found its mission, and has served a useful purpose in the financial economy of the city. The early habit of Boston merchants to meet "on 'Change," which was in vogue until about 1850, had been abandoned, and it has never been resumed; but the Board of Trade has served to keep up a fraternal spirit among Boston merchants, drawing them together now and then for the purpose of discussing matters involving the interests of the commerce, both domestic and foreign, of the port, and acting as an organ and spokesman of the entire body of business men. Of late years, we may remark, as there will be no occasion to mention its work again, it has maintained one of the finest commercial news-rooms in the country.

The other event was the establishment of the Clearing-house. The New York Clearing-house went into operation in October, 1853; that of Boston,

in May, 1856. Twenty-nine banks formed the association at the start, but three others were admitted the same year. The exchanges in 1856 amounted to a little more than $1,000,000,000, — about one seventh of those at New York in the same year. The modern rule of estimating the amount of business done in a city at various periods, by a comparison of the clearings, can be proved correct, so far as Boston is concerned, by the statistics of this institution during the quarter-century of its existence. The effect of the crisis of 1857 is very distinctly observable; and so are the depression at the beginning of the war, the expansion which followed, the season of inflation from 1867 to 1873, the decrease of trade which ensued, and finally the revival of business in 1879 and 1880. In the last year the gross exchanges amounted to $3,326,343,166. This sum was rather more than one twelfth part of the clearings in New York in 1880; showing, so far as this is a test, that the business of the metropolitan city has grown at a more rapid rate by far than that of Boston, and in the actual amount of business done is now many times as much. It is a fact well worthy of mention, that no bank belonging to the Boston Clearing-house has ever failed. At present the association includes fifty-one banks, all under national charter. Ten banks, most of them located in Roxbury or other annexed districts, and the several trust-companies which do a banking business, "clear" through some member of the association.

The banks of Boston were much better prepared to withstand the evil of 1857 than they had been to meet disaster in 1837. In the first place, they were managed by more prudent men, — or rather, to be more accurate, there were not among them so many reckless spirits. Moreover, a law passed in 1854 had required the Boston banks to publish weekly returns of their condition, so that the business was conducted more in the sight of the public. Nevertheless, the city banks in February, 1857, had but $3,500,000 specie, as reserve against liabilities in the shape of circulation and deposits of more than $22,000,000. Warned of impending danger, the banks not only of Boston, but of New York and other parts of the country, began to curtail their loans and to reduce their liabilities to the public. This action, coming upon a business community accustomed to a free use of credit, produced such a strain that in the autumn there was a general suspension of specie payments, the Boston banks joining in the movement. The suspension lasted but fifty-nine days, and all the banks resumed payment on December 12, not one bank having failed in consequence of the crisis. Indeed, the suspension was merely nominal while it lasted. Specie flowed in rapidly, and there was no great difficulty in obtaining what was needed by the best borrowers.

The disaster of 1857, so far as it affected the banks, was thus of a brief and harmless character. It was quite otherwise with general business. Yet it is safe to say that hardly a person in the community had, at the time of suspension, even an approximate appreciation of the gravity of the situation. The one thing apparent to everybody was that the banks had con-

tracted at a terribly rapid rate,[1] and in an unfeeling manner. The principle of *post hoc propter hoc* was applied by everybody who sought for an explanation of what was occurring, and the banks were denounced, right and left, for their heartless action. The newspaper and periodical literature of the day teems with long expositions of the situation. So careful an observer and so wise a man as Nathan Appleton, in a letter addressed to the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, on October 12, the day before suspension, maintained that business generally was in a sound and prosperous condition, or would be so but for the course of the New York banks. "In my whole experience," he wrote, "I have never known a crisis so severe as the present, and, I must say, so wholly uncalled for." The editor of the *Advertiser*, in printing this letter, said that Mr. Appleton "fixes the seat of the mischief in the true spot, namely, the banks of the city of New York;" and *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, in copying the letter, expressed its entire concurrence in this view. Mr. Amasa Walker led off in the magazine just mentioned (issue for November, 1857) with an article, which he began by saying that "the whole monetary system of the United States has fallen with a mighty crash, and now lies before us a magnificent and melancholy ruin."

It was not long, however, before a change was observable in the explanations given. Careful men learned to their surprise, but to their complete satisfaction, that the real cause of the panic and the financial and commercial ruin lay much deeper than the action of the banks; and they were honest enough to confess the mistake they had made. Even if they had not done so, the lesson of the appalling list of failures which ensued, becoming more frequent and more disastrous after the banks had resumed and were again discounting freely, was too plain to be mistaken. In Boston alone there were two hundred and fifty-three failures, with liabilities amounting to $41,000,000, — an amount which was larger than that of any year before or since. In 1858 the fact was generally recognized that overtrading had caused the evil. Immense investments had been made in manufacturing and railroad enterprises, far beyond any present necessities, and the money for these purposes had been for the most part borrowed abroad. The currency was bad; but the commerce of the country was carried on in such an artificial way that merchants and speculators, and not the representatives of concentrated wealth, were the real offenders.

The Suffolk Bank system came to an end in 1858. This was the result of a long-growing impatience on the part of many banks in New England at the restraints which that system imposed upon them, as well as of a desire to share in the supposed large profits of the Suffolk Bank on the redemption of foreign money. The Bank of Mutual Redemption was chartered in 1855, and began business in 1858. The division of the business of redemption

[1] The loans and discounts of the New York banks for the week ending August 8 averaged more than one hundred and twenty-two millions. In ten weeks, to October 17, the week of suspension, the amount of loans was reduced to a little more than ninety-seven millions, — a diminution of fully twenty per cent. The reduction in Boston was only about ten per cent; but even then it amounted to several millions, and caused great financial distress.

between two agents, and the withdrawal of deposits by many of the country banks, determined the directors to discontinue the assorting of country money altogether. The system was continued in a modified form by the Bank of Mutual Redemption, until the establishment of the National Bank system rendered it no longer useful or practicable. The great value of the Suffolk Bank system is seen, and will always be acknowledged, by those who study the reasons why, when the currency of the country was in a state of utter disorder, that of New England was sound and healthy; and who observe that while the notes of other banks had but a local circulation, or, if they wandered away from the place of issue, were only taken at a large discount, those of New England banks were current at par in far distant States.

The beginning of the Civil War found general business again in a prosperous state, and the banks in a condition of strength. While the strong arms of the sons of Massachusetts were offered to the country for its military service, its strong-box was opened to supply the means for prosecuting the war. The banks cheerfully took the assigned amounts of the national loans which were raised through the medium of the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, in 1861. They gave efficient help to business in the stirring times which followed. Boston had its full share of the trade which arose out of the necessities of large armies in the field. The last vestiges of its great fleet of ocean vessels were swept away, a part of them having been sold to British owners, and others having been captured by Confederate cruisers; but, in compensation, the factories of New England were pressed to their utmost capacity to supply woollen cloth for uniforms. The cotton-mills, if they had scanty supplies of raw material, were enabled to make handsome profits on the goods they could make. The boot and shoe makers and dealers enjoyed the benefits of an enormous demand for goods of a class in which they had almost a monoply. Other branches of business were also greatly favored by those kinds of trade which are made active by the dire necessities of war.

The first national banking law was passed in 1863, and re-enacted with some modifications in 1864. The Safety Fund Bank was the first Boston institution to take advantage of the new system, which it did by becoming the First National Bank of Boston, under the act of 1863. All the banks of Boston transformed themselves into National banks in 1864 and 1865, being encouraged to do so by a law of the Commonwealth passed in 1864, which facilitated the change. The provision of the National Bank Act which authorized the formation of gold-banks was availed of for the organization of the Kidder National Gold-Bank, the only one of the kind ever established except on the Pacific coast. This bank, however, discontinued business several years ago, and surrendered its charter.

There are now sixty-one national banks in Boston, with an aggregate capital stock of $52,300,000, and accumulated profits amounting to more

than $15,000,000. The Merchants' National Bank has the largest capital among the Boston banks, amounting to $3,000,000; the State and Tremont banks have each a capital of $2,000,000; and there are nine others with a capital of $1,500,000 each. The largest amount of bank loan ever reported by the Clearing House Association — comprising, as has been said, nearly all the national banks and all the large ones — was $166,110,700, which was the average for the week ended Aug. 20, 1881. The individual deposits at the same time amounted to $68,304,100, which was not the largest sum ever reported, the amount having been at one time over $70,000,000; and the amount due to other banks, being the deposits mostly of New England country banks, was $42,145,900. These figures show an enormous business, and are greatly in excess of those for any other city in the United States, excepting New York. But they do not show the full amount of the banking business of Boston. There are several trust companies doing a general banking business, receiving money on deposit subject to check, and discounting business paper, but issuing no circulation. Moreover, there are many private banking firms, some of them with large capital, whose operations are on an extensive scale, and whose credit is recognized all over the world.

The financial crisis of 1873 offers no matter for particular mention of Boston's share in its disasters and distresses. The causes of the panic were no doubt as much promoted by the course of business and speculation in Boston as by what happened in other parts of the country, and not more. Trade was carried on and financial affairs were managed with as much, perhaps not with more, prudence here than elsewhere. If there was any difference it was in our favor, since it can be said with truth that the majority of the failures among individuals, firms, and corporations were later in point of time than in most of the large cities; but in the end Boston suffered not less than her sister cities. She has also shared to the full extent in the revival of business which preceded, by a little, the resumption of specie payments by the Banks and the Government, after a suspension of more than fifteen years. Indeed, it is believed by many persons that Boston was the first to enjoy the season of returning prosperity. It is certain that the sudden and surprising recovery of confidence and business by some of the great railroads of the West in which Boston men chiefly were the stockholders and owners of the mortgage securities, — such as the Burlington & Missouri River, in Nebraska (now consolidated with the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy), and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé roads, — anticipated by months the appreciation of the stocks of roads in which other cities were chiefly interested.

Mention should, however, be made of one class of disasters which affected Massachusetts peculiarly at this time. The savings-bank system of New England was more highly developed than that of any other part of the country. In Massachusetts it had been under a most pervasive and efficient control. These banks, receiving as they did the scanty earnings of the poor,

who were least fitted either by education or by opportunities to investigate the safety of the institutions to which they committed their hard-earned savings, were justly deemed by the State authorities to be the most proper objects of vigilant watchfulness. The confidence inspired by this system was increased by the promptness with which they had met all their constantly increasing liabilities. The very excellence of the rules and restrictions under which they were managed, however, was in a certain sense the cause of disaster. They were required to invest a large part of the deposits committed to them in mortgages of real estate in Massachusetts. Unfortunately they were not all careful to what proportion of the actual value of such property they lent money upon this security; and when, in the progress of the long-continued depression, real estate took its turn at depreciation, the margin of value above the mortgages was in many cases wiped out, and the banks suffered loss. The first institution to succumb to the pressure was that at Lancaster; the West Boston Bank came next, — both failures having occurred within a fortnight of each other, at the end of 1875. The West Boston Bank, however, soon resumed, as it was believed that arrangements had been made by which further difficulties could be overcome; but later it was forced again to close its doors and to wind up its affairs. In 1877 the Mechanics' Bank of Boston, chartered after the panic of 1873, found its business unprofitable and retired. In the same year the North Bridgewater Bank of Brockton failed on account of the dishonesty of an officer, in April. In July the City Bank of Haverhill was obliged to suspend, after a run upon it. But the really serious troubles of the savings-banks began when, in August, there was a run upon the Sandwich Bank. Shortly afterward the Barnstable Bank was attacked and overcome, and the Hyannis Bank followed.

From this time on the failures were numerous; but it was evident that in many cases the disaster to banks was the result merely of panic. Their investments were properly of a character which did not allow of their responding promptly to all demands. No matter how safe and strong they were, they could not collect debts not yet due. Under these circumstances the Legislature interposed with a law which permitted the Savings-Bank Commissioners to give orders restricting the amount of money which banks might pay on deposits; and in the course of two years many [1] of the banks availed themselves of the law. The result was that of all the banks which took advantage of the law, all but one had resumed payments in full and were doing business as usual before the end of 1880. But the evil had overtaken many banks before the benefits of this restriction were permitted to them; about twenty of them, in various parts of the State, having been previously enjoined perpetually from doing any business, were wound up. The losses to depositors, however, were not as great as might have been at first feared. The deposits in the banks which failed were a little short of ten millions ($9,976,229). Up to the begin-

[1] About twenty in the whole State

ning of 1880 there had been distributed in dividends the sum of $6,568,799, and there remained in the hands of receivers assets estimated to be worth $2,417,440; so that the entire loss was but about $1,100,000, or eleven per cent. Under the new legislation, the necessity for which was fully proved by the events of the last few years, a repetition of these disasters is almost impossible, and the banks are now in a fair way to gain more than the confidence which they enjoyed up to the period when the troubles began.[1]

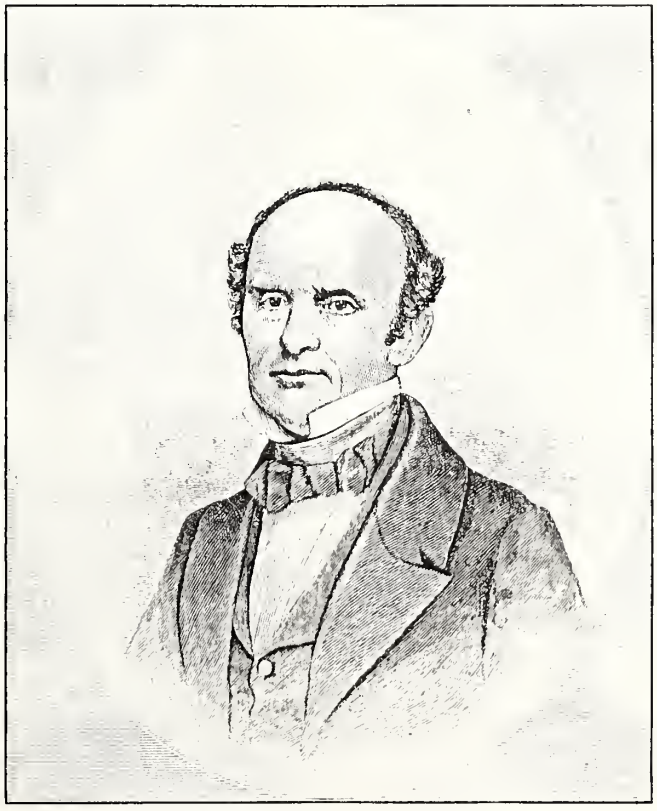
A consideration of the present financial position of Boston will give an opportunity for a brief reference to some features of the trade of the city which have been necessarily omitted thus far. In certain branches of business Boston has now, and has always held, a position of pre-eminence among the cities of the country. By far the most important of these is the boot and shoe trade. Much more than one half of all the boots and shoes made in the United States are the product of Massachusetts. The factories are owned in Boston for the most part, and the manufactured articles are sold here. Boston is also the largest wool market of the country, and it is the headquarters of the fish business. For many years it has been losing the leadership it once enjoyed in the domestic dry-goods trade, although the amount of business done in this department is still very large. It is second only to New York in the ownership of Western and Southern railroad stocks and other securities. The Boston Stock Exchange has the lead of all Exchanges in the country, except that of New York, in the extent and variety of the list of securities dealt in, and in the amount of business done.[2]

Its commerce, although conducted for the most part in foreign steamships, is large and growing. Its imports from abroad are in value far in excess of those at any other port save that of New York; and of its exports of general merchandise the same remark is true, — New Orleans surpassing it only by her very heavy exports of cotton. With many regular lines of steamships to Europe, the sailings of which very nearly average one a day, a great growth in their number, and in the value of the trade of which they are the medium, is only prevented by the necessary slowness of creating dock accommodations for them. The coastwise trade gives profitable employment to a large number of sailing and steam vessels.

[1] The growth of the Savings-Banks of Massachusetts is a very interesting and gratifying exhibit. In 1834, when the returns first began to be made systematically according to law, there were twenty-two banks, having deposits amounting to $3,407,773. The system grew, without the interruption of a single year, until 1860, when there were eighty-nine banks with deposits aggregating $45,054,236. In 1861, and again in 1865, there was a decrease; but with these exceptions there was an annual growth until 1877, when there were one hundred and seventy-nine banks, having gross deposits of $244,596,614. That was high-water mark. In 1878 there was a reduction in deposits of no less than $34,735,983. A further reduction took place in 1879, followed by a recovery in 1880. The last returns, those for the end of 1880, show that there were then one hundred and sixty-four banks doing business, having deposits amounting to the sum of $218,047,922.

[2] [There is a record of its development in Mr. J. G. Martin's *Seventy-three Years' History of the Boston Stock Market, from Jan.* 1, 1798, to *Jan.* 1, 1871; with notes, and also with an annual appendix from 1870 to the present time. — Ed.]

The enterprise with which Boston capitalists seek new investments of a promising character is proverbial. Sometimes these investments have been extremely fortunate and profitable, as in the case of many Western railroads, to which reference has already been made. Other investments have been notably unfortunate, as for example those in the copper mines of Lake Superior. A few of these latter have nevertheless returned large profits to investors; and in one instance, that of the Calumet & Hecla company, the exception is a brilliant one, exhibiting, as it has done, the rare combination of a valuable mine, handled with scientific skill and busi-



JOHN ELIOT THAYER.[1]

ness sagacity, and with wonderfully successful results. The most important feature of outside Boston investments of a new character, or rather in a new field, at present, is the construction of railroads in the Republic of Mexico. Capital in heavy amounts has gone from Boston for this purpose, the investors displaying great boldness, and the companies which have their headquarters in the city managing their affairs with masterly skill and ability.

A large measure of the success which Boston has had in the race for

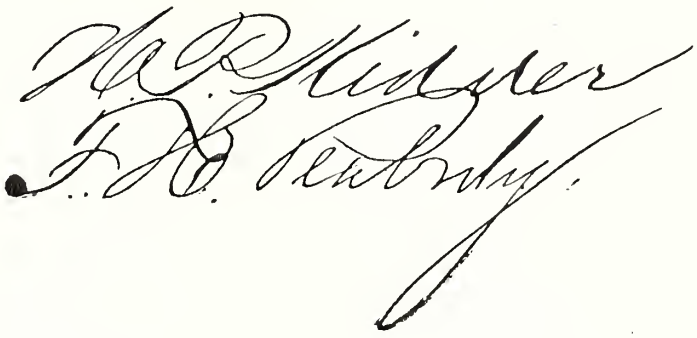
[1] [This cut follows a large photograph by Whipple, hanging in the offices of his successors in business, Messrs. Kidder, Peabody, & Co — Ed.]

wealth — a race in which she has succeeded to a far greater extent than her population or her geographical situation would have justified — has been gained by the character of the men who have represented her in the financial and commercial world. Volumes might be filled with the commendations which the merchants of Boston have received, from orators and writers in all parts of the land, for their integrity and faithfulness to high principle. And it has not been meaningless and undeserved praise. There has always been a strong public sentiment in Massachusetts which first created and afterward sustained the tradition that a Boston merchant or financier was expected to be honest. "Sharp," he might be in driving a bargain; but when the bargain was made, he must observe all the obligations which it laid upon him, both in letter and in spirit. It is to a tradition of a similar kind that we may trace the origin and the steadiness of the high credit both of the city of Boston and of the Commonwealth. It is held as a principle, about which no argument can be tolerated, that lawful debts are to be paid. When the National Government issued its legal-tender notes, and made them available for the payment of all debts incurred before as well as after the issue, neither the city nor the State took advantage of the privilege, but religiously paid both interest and principal in coin, at no matter what cost for premium on gold. The idea of repudiation, or of creating money out of nothing by the fiat of the Government, has never been able to obtain even a hearing in Boston; and the heretical notions about money which were encouraged by the long-continued use of irredeemable paper currency, have been less prevalent in Massachusetts than in almost any other State of the Union.

To all these generally true remarks there have been notable exceptions. There have been swindling banks and dishonest managers, defaulting cashiers and treasurers, merchants who sold worthless goods and gave short measure, fraudulent bankrupts, and cheats and rogues who succeeded for a long time in concealing their true characters. They have, however, been exceptions to the rule. When their real characters have been tardily exposed, they have suffered not only the severe penalties which the law imposes, but the indignant reprobation of an outraged community. The courts have never been guilty — or, if at all, in very rare instances — of allowing the previous reputation of a detected rogue to mitigate the punishment which should be meted out to all alike. Men who had occupied high station in mercantile affairs or in State concerns have been pitilessly pursued by the process of Massachusetts courts to their hiding places, tried with rigid severity, and condemned to take their appropriate places with the ordinary thieves and other miscreants to whose level they had abased themselves.

All the elements of strength which have conduced to the prosperity of Boston are still present to insure the continued progress of the city in wealth and importance. Her manufactures rule the markets for some of the articles in most constant and universal demand; her financial institutions

are among the safest and most famous in the land; her commerce, both internal and external, is extending as rapidly as it has ever done at any period in its history. It is entirely safe to predict, that while the enterprise of Boston capitalists shows no diminution, and while high principle continues to govern public sentiment, the era of growth and prosperity will also continue.



CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF INSURANCE IN BOSTON.

BY OSBORNE HOWES, JR.,

Secretary of the Boston Fire Underwriters' Union.

ALTHOUGH the general system of insurance may be traced back for several centuries in England and on the continent of Europe, its adoption in this country is of comparatively recent date. Indeed, when one considers how essential this method of mutual protection is to the well-being of society, and to the security of mercantile communities, it is hard to understand how those who lived in Boston less than one hundred years ago could have been so blind, or so indifferent to its advantages, as the records of that and of earlier times prove them to have been. Not less strange is the tentative and groping manner in which the first essays at insurance were made. It was, it is true, a new undertaking to insure life and property against death and destruction by shipwreck and fire; but at the present day we adapt with such ease the business customs of other countries to our own uses, when they are found to be desirable, that the slowness and inflexibility of our forefathers seems, by comparison, hardly credible.

Mr. Joseph Marion appears to have been the first underwriter ever known in Boston; and, what is more, the first person in America to enter definitely into this business. From the fact that he had received a commission as notary public from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the presumption is that he must have acquired some insight into the business while on a visit to England. In 1724 he established what was termed an 'insurance office,' though beyond the fact that such an office was opened there is little evidence obtainable. It may be safe to assume that this enterprise took form in consequence of the demands of local trade. While the commercial relations of the colony were confined closely to trade between it and the mother country, it was probably thought best to obtain the needed insurance upon the vessels making these transatlantic voyages in the insurance associations of England; but as time passed on, and the colony began to build up an ocean commerce of its own, to send its vessels upon fishing

trips and coasting voyages, the inadequacy of the then prevailing method made itself manifest. The insurance had to be effected in London, and contracts made at such a distance were always expensive to the insured; while it must often have happened that those who desired the protection which a policy of insurance would have given them, were obliged to assume the risk themselves. Under these circumstances it is not strange that an insurance office should have been started; for now, under similar conditions, such a demand would be answered in a less number of days than it then required years to bring about. The office was, beyond question, a marine one, and carried on what is known as a personal underwriting business; that is, it copied the method then and now in vogue at the Lloyd's Exchange in London. A policy of insurance was made out describing the ship, the voyage, the rate of premium, the amount to be taken, and the conditions to which both parties to the contract were to be bound. To this those who chose to take a share in the risk subscribed their names, with the amounts they were willing to assume, the list remaining open until the entire sum had been made up.

It is highly probable that Mr. Marion found his business a thriving one, for four years after he had started in it — in 1728 — he made an attempt to develop it on an exceedingly comprehensive scale. He then proposed to erect, as it was termed, an assurance office to insure houses and household goods in any part of the province from loss and damage by fire; the organization to be called the "Sun Fire Office in Boston." The effort was an ambitious one, but Mr. Marion seems to have failed to find the support needed to carry it to a successful conclusion; at least, there is nothing to show that the enterprise ever went beyond its initiatory stages. That the projector of this fire office keenly regretted his failure may well be believed, for, thirty-two years later, his name is found among those who were sufferers by the great fire of 1760.

In all probability marine-insurance contracts, made in the manner mentioned above, were the only policies of insurance written in Boston for seventy years after Mr. Marion first opened his office. As these operations were carried on without license or authorization of any kind, it is impossible to determine the extent of the business; but as the commerce of Boston and the neighboring seaports increased greatly in volume during the years of the last century which preceded and followed the Revolution, and as the desirability, not to say necessity, of procuring guarantees of this kind against loss became more and more apparent, the business must, before the advent of the present century, have expanded vastly beyond what was done prior to 1750. The Revolution broke off the business connections with London existing previous to 1775; and, so far as the marine insurance of Boston is concerned, they do not appear ever to have been re-established.

These early underwriters must have borrowed the forms of policy and their methods of carrying on business wholly from the Lloyd's Association.

It is curious to notice their close adhesion to what may be termed the eccentricities of the English underwriters. These latter had copied their system of marine insurance from the Lombards, who, in connection with their banking business, began insuring vessels and cargoes in England as early as 1425. Even the word "policy" is a direct derivative from the term *polizza*, a promise, used by the Lombards. So, too, in their policies to this day the Lloyd's Association say: "And it is agreed by us the insurers, that this writing or policy of assurance, shall be of as much force and effect as the surest writing or policy of assurance made in Lombard Street," — a guarantee which at the present time is equivocal, to say the least, when it is taken into account that policies are no longer written in that thoroughfare. But this meaningless form seems to have been thought an essential part of the contract, and in some of the earlier American policies was copied verbatim. Later on, particularly after the Revolution, it was thought necessary to adopt some other enforcing clause; and hence some of the marine policies of the latter part of the last century read that the document was to have "as much force and effect as the surest writing or policy of insurance heretofore made," or "the surest writing, etc., heretofore made in any of the United States or elsewhere." This form does not seem, in Boston, to have survived the eighteenth century, the insured probably coming to the conclusion that the policy was only worth the value given to it by the credit of its guarantors, and that the comparative protestation, however forcible, did not strengthen it. Another feature, which does not seem to have been wholly borrowed from transatlantic authorities, was the abiding faith held by these old underwriters in the immediate supervision in mundane affairs of a Supreme Ruler. The policies grant insurance of such an amount on "the good ship . . . whereof . . . is master, under God, for the present voyage." And then go on to say: "And the assured, in case of loss (which God forbid!) to abate two per cent, and such loss to be paid in sixty days after proof thereof."

The marine-insurance business of that period was in the character of the risks assumed, — a very different occupation from that carried on by marine underwriters at the present time. These old policies give a striking illustration of the various hazards incident to a sea voyage no longer than one hundred years ago. The ship-merchant then had to encounter other risks than the ordinary ones of the sea; and to guard against these the policies read: "Touching the Adventures and Perils which we the Insurers are contented to bear, and do take upon us in this Voyage, they are of the Seas, Men-of-War, Fire, Enemies, Pirates, Rovers, Thieves, Jettisons, Letters of Mark and Counter-Mark, Surprisals, Takings at Sea, Arrests, Restraints and Detainments of all Kings, Princes, and People, of what Nation, Condition, or Quality soever, Barratry of the Master (unless the Assured be owner of said vessel) and Mariners, and of all other Perils, Losses, and Misfortunes that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment, or Damage of the said Ship." As this, like most of the other parts of the policy, was a

copy from the form then used by the Lloyd's Association, it might be assumed that it was held to more by force of custom than of necessity; but in opposition to this view it may be urged that the underwriters of that time were in all probability no more willing than their successors of to-day to take upon themselves an unnecessary liability; and if the insured had not desired this measure of protection it is not at all likely that it would have been granted. At that time these various interferences were positive perils to be guarded against; gradually their mention dropped from the policies made in our Boston offices, so that in those dating shortly after the War of 1812 no trace of them is found, the insurance companies and associations, then as now, insuring only against what may be called the ordinary perils of a sea voyage. And yet, in spite of these many dangers, the rates of premium asked for insuring vessels making long voyages were by no means high, being, as a rule, about the same as those charged at the present day for insuring similar ventures. This certainly speaks well for the seamanship of the officers and crews of the Boston merchant-marine of this early period. But in insuring vessels engaged in coasting voyages the scale of rates, as contrasted with our modern experience, seems to have been very high. Voyages to Norfolk were evidently looked upon as almost as hazardous as those up the Baltic; while the rate asked to insure a small craft on a trip around Cape Cod to New York was six or eight times larger than would be asked by the marine offices on State Street to-day. One does not have to look far for the cause of this difference. The vessels, though small, were stanchly built, the mariners were skilful navigators; but the various aids to commerce now existing in the shape of carefully drawn charts, beacons, buoys, and lighthouses, which reduce to a minimum the dangers of sailing along our northern coast, were wholly wanting; while in the event of a wreck, not only was the vessel hopelessly lost, but the wreckers along the shore from Maine to South Carolina were sufficiently active to prevent the underwriters from obtaining much salvage either upon hull or cargo. But the growth of our local commerce, added to the dangers to which those who were engaged in it were exposed, must have given to our marine underwriters during the latter part of the last century a large amount of business; for when, in 1795, the Massachusetts Fire and Marine Company was incorporated, and in 1799 the Boston Marine Company, they both found a wide field for operation.

Our Boston underwriters, with the possible exception of Mr. Marion, were unquestionably backward in discovering the advantages of carrying on their business by means of incorporated companies. In a somewhat crude way, under a deed of settlement, a fire-insurance company had been started in Philadelphia in 1752, and marine companies began operations in that town and in Baltimore a year or two before our first Boston company came into existence. The two Boston companies referred to must have confined themselves pretty closely to marine business, for though the Massachusetts company had the chartered right to insure against losses by fire, it is not at

all probable that at the outset it had much opportunity to exercise this privilege. The marine business was what these early companies mainly depended upon for their profits; and that they were well employed may be judged by the fact that in eight years after the first company was started — that is, in 1803 — the insurance capital of the stock-insurance companies in Boston was nearly $2,000,000, not to speak of the money indirectly invested in the business in the one mutual company, and by individual underwriters.

Although the possibility of carrying on the marine-insurance business even without the intervention of corporations had been clearly demonstrated by the usage of nearly three quarters of a century, there is no reason to believe that the practicability or utility of insuring property on land against loss by fire was generally conceded before the Massachusetts company was incorporated. As mentioned above, a Philadelphia organization, — which is still in existence, — known as the Philadelphia Contributionship, was started in 1752, having Benjamin Franklin as one of its original members; and a few years after that date its arbitrary course of action led to the formation of a rival company. These two associations were for years the only ones in America issuing fire policies. Before the year 1795 it is not at all likely that there was a single building in Boston insured against fire. Shortly before the War of 1812 some of the English fire-insurance companies established agencies in Boston and in New York, but this was after a desire for this species of protection had been built up by the exertions of local organizations. It is easy to believe that the individual suffering due to the relatively frequent fires in Boston, a hundred years or more ago, must have been in many cases intense; and it is well known that efforts were frequently made to equalize these losses. It was a common practice, for a citizen whose house or store had been burned, to send out a subscription paper calling public attention to the misfortune he had met with, and asking his fellow-townsmen to assist him, on the ground that the loss which had come to him might at any time visit them, if God should so will it, and that they then would need the help which he now implored of them. It may be assumed that these petitions for aid were generally responded to with great liberality, as they seem to have been made after almost every fire, and not unfrequently by those who were not in absolutely destitute circumstances. It was, in a word, a rude system of insurance, — a recognition of the principle that a loss spread out over a large number of individuals is more easily borne than when its incident falls sharply upon a single person; only, by this method the payment of premium was voluntary and always uncertain, and it must have been a rare instance where the sufferer by the fire received a sufficient amount in charity to make good his losses.

The first successful effort to protect the property of the citizens of the town of Boston against loss by fire was made by those who were instrumental in procuring the charter of the Massachusetts Mutual Company, in 1798. These men were Paul Revere, Henry Jackson, William Eustace, Edward Tuckerman, George R. Minot, Elisha Ticknor, and several other

prominent Bostonians. The company, by the limitations imposed by the State, was not allowed to do business until its incorporators had obtained in Boston and its immediate vicinity two million dollars' worth of property to be insured; and as the company was restricted to insuring only four-fifths of the value of the risk assumed, the incorporators had to find owners of property to the extent of $2,500,000. When one takes into account the low value of the entire building property of Boston at that time, and that quite a number of the local companies now doing business in this city have less than the amount named at risk in Boston and its suburbs, the demands of the Legislature seem unreasonable, and can only be explained on the assumption that the Great and General Court looked upon the enterprise as one of questionable utility, and was not willing to sanction it, without it could be shown, in an unmistakable manner, that there was a popular call for it. The charter, thus encumbered, was however accepted, and the gentlemen named, with some associate members, went upon a canvass among their personal and business friends to obtain the desired amount of insurance. The record books of the old company show that this canvassing was a trying task, particularly as the direct individual interest in it of any one person must have been very slight; for the opportunity to insure his property was the most that any member of the company could hope to obtain. A number of the canvassers relinquished the undertaking, and their places were supplied by others; but at the end of a year the total amount was obtained, and the company opened its office on State Street for business.

For a number of years this office seems to have done a greater part of the fire-insurance business of Boston. Its trustees must have borrowed the information needed for their operations from the experience of the companies in England and in Philadelphia. The policies they issued were for a term of seven years, and none were written for a shorter period. One of their first efforts was to teach their policy-holders the necessity of protecting themselves. They offered rewards of money, not exceeding ten dollars, for good service performed by citizens at fires. If any of the holders of policies allowed their pumps to get out of order, and permitted them to remain so after a notification from the office, they were fined two dollars, and two dollars additional for every week that they continued out of repair; while those who allowed their chimneys to get on fire were fined one dollar.

The question of rates of premium was one which they found it very hard to settle. The scale adopted at the outset did not give satisfaction, and after a number of changes a committee consisting of John Lowell, Tristram Barnard, Ebenezer Gay, Elisha Ticknor, and William Gay, which had been appointed to consider the subject, after due deliberation submitted the following report: —

"Your Committee are of opinion that brick or stone buildings, covered with slate, tiles, or metal, standing alone, similar to the store in Marlborough Street, occupied by William Leverett, or the house by Joseph Coolidge, Esq., of New Boston, may be

safely taken by the trustees at 35 cents per $100. That brick or stone buildings in blocks, with slate, tile, or metal, separated by brick partition walls and battlements, agreeable to law, similar to those on Mt. Vernon, at 45 cents per $100. That wooden buildings, standing alone, similar to Henry Hill's and Samuel Elliot's, Esq., at 55 cents per $100 That buildings, part of brick or stone and part of wood, and wooden buildings in blocks, similar to those of Samuel Smith and Stephen Higginson in Federal Street, at 70 cents per $100."

The scale thus given shows that in spite of the great height of our modern buildings, and the dangerous character in many ways of their appliances for heating and lighting, the liability to loss by fire is now very much less than it was when the committee prepared the above report. Another difficulty which the trustees of the company encountered was in determining questions of law. They had to work completely in the dark, in the entire absence of precedents to guide their action. Theophilus Parsons and other legal authorities of the day were frequently consulted; and though the advice given was no doubt judicious, it did not always save the company from litigation. In less than three years after it began business a fire occurred (Dec. 16, 1801) on Ann Street, which destroyed, besides other property, the dwelling-house, cooper-shop, and fish-store of Amasa Stetson. These latter were insured in the Massachusetts Mutual, but the trustees refused payment on the ground that the property had been changed after the policy of insurance was taken out, in such a manner as to increase the risk; and also on account of alienation of title. This disagreement led to the first fire-insurance lawsuit tried in the courts of this country; the Massachusetts Supreme Court, in 1807, rendering a decision in favor of Stetson.

It should, in justice to the fire underwriters, be said that this first dispute over a loss finding its way into the courts was not followed for a long time by other lawsuits. In the edition of 1825 of Bigelow's *Digest* the case of Stetson *v.* Massachusetts Mutual Insurance Company appears as the only one on record. In Willard Phillips's Treatise on *The Law of Insurance* (ed. of 1823) the author's intention seems to have been to cover the entire field of insurance, but the work, which is a fairly bulky one, is made up almost exclusively of precedents bearing upon marine underwriting. Fire underwriting is referred to, but in the simplest possible terms, as a form of contract but little understood for want of experience; and the laws laid down as governing it do not occupy more than two or three pages out of the entire work, — a comment which also holds good of life insurance, a branch of business in which the author, later on, greatly distinguished himself.

This absence of litigation, by means of which legal precedents could be established, was no doubt largely due to the contracted character of the business. The New England, Suffolk, and Union offices were opened in the early years of the present century; but they seem to have confined themselves very closely to marine insurance. As late as 1823 the Merchants' Insurance Company published a tract on fire insurance, of which only one

copy now seems to be extant, in which it is asserted that the fire policies issued by the Boston companies are for the most part taken out by those who are members or stockholders of the several companies. The directors of the Merchants' Company felt called upon to explain the nature of the business; and in their preface they say: "Presuming the subject of Fire Insurance has fallen under the consideration of but comparatively few persons, they trust no apology will be thought necessary for this publication." That they had but a dim perception of the dimensions the business was in after years to attain may be judged by the remark made, that "the only danger insurance companies have of losing their capital is that the directors may err in judgment and insure for too small a premium,"—thus indicating that they did not think it conceivable that property-owners throughout the city would insure their buildings and merchandise, and thus make the companies liable to an overwhelming loss should a conflagration occur. They go on to say: —

"He who loses his all at sea by not insuring, instead of sympathy meets with reproach for his temerity. He who suffers by fire, although equally chargeable with rashness and imprudence, not only claims exemption from reproach, but appeals with confidence, and often with success, to public sympathy. The distress and misery resulting from this misfortune have been so often witnessed or felt, as to render it unnecessary here to enlarge on the subject. It is sufficient to refer to the frequent appeals to public charity. When the low rate of premiums is considered, it is matter of surprise that so great a proportion of the property in this country is uninsured, and the fact can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is not known at how small an expense insurance can be effected. Probably in no country in Europe is there so great a proportion of the property uninsured as in this country. There, more particularly in Great Britain, it is a very general custom to insure Furniture and Houses, as well as Merchandise and Stores."

This, and much more to the same effect, proves that in the first twenty-five years of its existence in Boston the business of fire underwriting made but very little progress. Merchants insured their stores or stocks of goods, on which they were obliged to obtain mortgages or credit; but the citizens generally did not comprehend the value of the protection which a policy of insurance afforded, or thought that their chances of suffering by fire were altogether too slight to make it an object to pay anything to a corporation to assume the risk. Hence, when a fire occurred, it was still a common occurrence to have a subscription paper started for the aid of the citizen whose property had been destroyed.

Indeed, in most matters appertaining to loss by fire the citizens of Boston at that time do not appear to have been particularly enterprising. The plan of using hose in the fire department for the purpose of carrying water to that point in the burning building where it could be employed to the greatest advantage, and also for pumping water from a distance, had been adopted in Philadelphia in 1808; and although many attempts were made here to have it substituted in place of the bucket supply, which the citi-

zens generally took part in serving, it was not until 1826 that the change was brought about. By that time quite a number of new companies had been organized. One was incorporated in 1816, one in 1818, one in 1822, three in 1823, one in 1824, and two in 1825. These new companies found ample ground for action in the growing commerce of the port, which was each year requiring a larger amount of insurance capital properly to protect it. The conditions under which the voyages of Boston ships were undertaken were not appreciably better than they had been in the last century; and therefore the marine policies of this period are noticeable on account of the exceedingly high rate charged for coasting ventures. A few of the larger English insurance companies seem to have established agencies in Boston subsequent to the War of 1812, for when the Exchange Coffee House was destroyed by fire in November, 1818, the only company called upon to pay insurance upon the loss was the Phœnix of London. It is noteworthy as indicating the low opinion entertained of the security given by insurance companies, that though this building, with its contents, was thought to be worth not less than $500,000, its owners had covered it with only a single policy for $10,000.

The business of life insurance was the last in Boston of these three forms of protection to develop itself. In the Old World life insurance seems to have antedated fire insurance, for the oldest work on underwriting, *Guidon de la Mer*, published in France about 1600, says that it was a common practice at the time of the Crusades for men about to go to sea to take out policies on their lives, the money to be used to ransom them when captured by pirates, and to revert to their relatives if they were never heard from. In 1769 a mutual association was formed by the clergymen of the Episcopal Church in the Province of Pennsylvania for the purpose of paying small annuities to the families of the insured, after the death of the latter, and the system was afterward extended to Maryland, New Jersey, and New York; but life insurance, in the sense that it is now understood, did not come into existence in this country until 1812, when the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances upon Lives was incorporated. There is every reason for thinking that insurances of this class were looked upon by the great mass of the people as immoral contracts. The duration of a man's life, it was held, rested upon the will of God, and if He chose in His divine wisdom to remove him from this world, it was an act of impiety on the part of the latter to speculate on the probable workings of Almighty power. This feeling was doubtless stronger in Massachusetts than in any other of the United States; and it is questionable whether in the second decade of the present century our Legislature would have sanctioned the incorporation of a life-insurance company on simple business principles. But on Feb. 24, 1814, the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital obtained the right to grant annuities on lives. That this venture into the field of life insurance was condoned by public opinion on account of the charitable disposition which was to be made of the resulting profits seems more than probable.

for six years later the trustees debated for some time over the question of whether they should also apply to the Legislature for permission to carry on a lottery, — an enterprise which might then have been sanctioned here, as it has since been in other parts of the country, for the direct aid its success would give to some deserving institution. Having obtained the right to negotiate for annuities, the trustees of the hospital did not care to exercise the privilege, thinking, no doubt, that it would necessitate a greater amount of labor in managing the financial details of the scheme than they could afford to give to it. Presumably for this reason, and because the plan could under a different management be better expanded, it was decided to organize what is now known as the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. This company was incorporated in 1818, with a capital stock of $500,000, and with the provision in its charter that it was to pay annually to the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital one third of the net profits which should arise from the insurance on lives made during the preceding year. Under these conditions the company must have found some difficulty in starting, for in 1823 its directors entered into an agreement with the trustees of the hospital, by which it was arranged that the annual payments were to be one third part of the net profits accruing to the company from insurance on lives, reversionary payments, and generally from all kinds of contracts in which the casualties and contingencies of life, and the interest of money, are principally involved, after deducting for the use of the stockholders the legal interest on the amount of capital actually paid in by them. That is to say, the stockholders were to be sure of six per cent per annum on their investment when that amount was earned, and two thirds of whatever profits the company made over that percentage. This agreement was on the following year ratified by an act of the Legislature. But in order still further to protect the stockholders, the special statute creating the Hospital Life Company contained the provision that so long as the company paid to the General Hospital the share of profits agreed upon, it should not be lawful for any persons or corporations within the Commonwealth to make insurance on lives upon land without they were empowered to do so by future legislatures; and if such grants were made, the obligation of this company to pay a part of its profits to the hospital should cease, unless the same obligation were imposed upon those to whom such rights were granted.

It is difficult at the present time to understand why such an agreement was made, except on the supposition that the State would not bestow the privilege to do a life business to a company that did not turn over a part of its profits to charitable uses. Mr. Bowditch, in his *History of the Massachusetts General Hospital*, says that his father, Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, who was the actuary of the company, thought that the arrangement was an eminently fit one, as it prevented a great deal of the jealousy which would otherwise be displayed against the insurance company; though why there should be more jealousy evinced at the success of a life company than at

the good fortune of a fire or marine company is not explained, and is comprehensible only on the grounds already stated. Certain it is that life insurance sometime in the not distant past was looked upon as an immoral proceeding, and was prohibited by statute in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and other continental cities, and by a general ordinance of Louis XIV. in France; the received opinion being that such a contract was opposed to the law of nature, and was therefore void.

The Hospital Life Company issued its first policy on Sept. 15, 1823, insuring the life of John Minot for two years. From that time for a number of years it did a small life business, granting policies in almost every case for short terms, these in most instances having for their object the securing of money loaned by third parties to the insured. Among these early policies was one on the life of Daniel Webster, which was issued, presumably, to protect the lender of a sum of money. The conditions then imposed on the insured are decidedly curious, considering the liberty now accorded to those who take out life policies. He was supposed to remain at home, and to subject his life to no hazard not coming in the ordinary course of his daily existence; hence, indorsements such as these are not infrequently found on the policies: "Permission is given to the assured to go to New York;" "The assured is to have the liberty to go to Portland by boat," etc.

During the first part of the second quarter of this century the business of marine and fire insurance seems to have been constantly on the increase. Between 1825 and 1835 ten new companies came into existence. Before the former date the chief occupation of the underwriters had been found in taking marine risks; but shortly after that period public opinion appears to have been educated up to a partial appreciation of the value of fire insurance. In this work of popularizing fire insurance, President Balch, of the Merchants' Insurance Company, was exceedingly active, and hardly a year passed at that time in which he did not send out printed circulars and tracts descriptive of the system of protection which his company offered to the citizens of Boston. In 1831 the Firemen's Insurance Company was organized for the purpose of doing a strictly fire business. For a stock company thus to limit itself was looked upon as a very venturesome undertaking, and the older underwriters did not hesitate to predict that it would be impossible for the company to sustain itself. In this they were so far correct, that the officers of the company must have had for a long time very hard work to make its operations profitable, and for a series of years it did not pay its stockholders as much as four per cent per annum on their investments. That our Boston companies limited their fire business very closely to this city may be assumed from the fact that the great fire in New York city in 1835, which destroyed fifteen million dollars' worth of property, and compelled twenty-three out of the twenty-six insurance companies of that city to suspend business, does not appear to have troubled them in the least. There was no appreciable falling off in their dividends, and their stocks are quoted as selling quite as favorably after the fire as before it.

It was not until the panic of 1837 that the Boston companies experienced any decided check to their onward progress, and this change was due to circumstances over which their managers had no control. In 1836 there were twenty-five stock companies in operation in this city, having capitals amounting to about seven million dollars. More than half of this sum was invested in bank stocks, and as these depreciated greatly in value, and dividends ceased to be paid upon them, the assets and incomes of the insurance corporations suffered a corresponding decline. This depression seems to have continued for six or eight years, and in the mean time eight of the companies were forced to discontinue business, and the insurance capital of Boston was reduced by more than thirty per cent. It was not alone the depreciation in the value of their assets that underwriters had to contend with, for fire and marine losses increased in their aggregates to an alarming extent. The worth of property upon sea and land was so far reduced, that the temptation became very strong on the part of its owners to "sell it out" to the insuring companies. Although positive instances of incendiarism and barratry were not frequent, it is not at all doubtful that owners who found their property greatly over-insured were much less careful than they had been in guarding against the possibilities of a loss. In 1838 the Boston stock companies had at-risk about $50,000,000 on marine ventures, and $52,000,000 under fire policies; amounts which were respectively reduced in 1844 to $33,000,000 and $42,000,000.

In the year 1838 the companies first began to make returns of their operations to the State. The law directing these reports to be made was passed by the Legislature of 1837, much to the disgust of the underwriters, who held that it was quite as unfair to call upon them to exhibit to the public the details of their business affairs as it would be to make the same request of individual merchants. These returns were sent for a number of years to the Secretary of State of the Commonwealth, and though crude and imperfect are the only obtainable data of the aggregate experience of insurance companies in this country prior to the current half of the present century. The records of these early years would indicate that the marine business of our Boston companies was fully as large, if not larger, in 1835 than it is at the present time. The fire business, on the contrary, has increased during the last forty-five years not less than three hundred per cent; but the Boston capital invested in this business was considerably larger then than it is now.

But if Boston companies did not extend their operations abroad, they held a fairly firm possession of the home field. At the present day much the larger part of the fire-insurance business in Boston is done by companies that have their main offices outside of our municipal limits, and in quite a number of instances in England; but in 1838, when this first report was made, there were only eight or ten New York and Hartford companies that took risks in this city, and these must have had their operations greatly circumscribed.

In 1835, by an act of the Legislature, Ebenezer T. Andrews, George Bond, Willard Phillips, and others were made corporators of the New England Mutual Life Company. The Hospital Life Company had then been doing business for twelve years, but had turned its attention more and more to the management of trust estates, so that the field of life insurance in this city was practically unoccupied. It was the intention of the founders of the New England company to raise the money needed as a guarantee capital, and begin business immediately, but the panic of 1837 coming on before they had completed their plans, it was deemed expedient to abandon the attempt until the financial crisis had passed, so that it was not until 1844 that the company issued its first policy. According to its reports it would appear that not a little misunderstanding existed as to the tax upon the business which would be exacted by the Massachusetts General Hospital, and in consequence of this some persons were deterred from taking out policies in the new company; but in time, when the guarantee capital was paid off, it was held that the hospital could no longer collect its annual levy, for as the company was carried on upon a strictly mutual plan there were, in the proper acceptation of the term, no profits arising from the business. For this reason the payments were discontinued, the trustees of the hospital and the directors of the Hospital Life agreeing to this construction. The New England Mutual Company started at a time when the experience of underwriters in this country was hardly worth anything as a guide to action. The marine and fire underwriters were repeatedly lowering and raising their rates of premium, in the hope of reaching a satisfactory average; but it was obvious that where a contract was made for life these frequent fluctuations could not be indulged in. For this reason the directors of the New England Company believed that their safest course was to establish at the outset a definite line of policy. They had as a guide the *Carlisle Table*, published in England in 1815, and the "Table showing the Probability of the Duration, the Decrement, and the Expectation of Life in the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire," prepared by Professor Edward Wigglesworth, of Harvard University, in 1782, besides the limited experience of the Hospital Life. Taking these, the first work of the directors was to employ Professor Benjamin Peirce, of Cambridge, and James Hayward, Esq., of Boston, to calculate separately the different parts of the table of premiums. Probably no company was ever started in which the determination was stronger to establish business upon a scientific basis. Hon. Willard Phillips, for many years the President of the New England Mutual Company, was at the time the highest recognized authority upon insurance law of all kinds in this country; and the annual reports issued by him in his official capacity, as head of this corporation, were received and read everywhere as standard treatises on the subject of life insurance, and for many years were used as guides by those starting other companies. At the outset the experience of the New England was somewhat similar to that of the Hospital Life Company; that is, the majority of the insured preferred to take

out policies for a term of years instead of life policies; and it was not until the company had been a number of years in existence that this proportion was reversed, allowing it to enter fully on the life business in the manner as now conducted.

From 1844 to 1854 the marine-insurance business of the Boston companies was constantly increasing. During that period came the discovery of gold in California, which gave to the shipping interest of this port an impetus such as it had never before and has never since received; and by this augmentation of tonnage the insuring companies were able to secure large and favorable contracts. But in 1854 a reaction set in, and in that and in the two following years the losses at sea were enormous. The stock of the companies declined in value, and quite a number of them wholly ceased paying dividends. But during the same time the fire-insurance business had been steadily increasing in volume; though, as the ratio of loss was also enlarged by the growth of the city, the profits to the companies did not exceed a reasonable return on the money invested. The number of companies was not, however, materially increased, experience proving that the profits of the business did not admit of its division among a large number of competitors with any degree of satisfaction to those who invested money in these ventures.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the conditions of business were materially changed. The "Alabama," "Florida," and other rebel cruisers, in driving the American commerce from the seas, inflicted a severe blow on the marine companies of this city, and one from which they have never fully recovered. For a time they were able to make good the diminution in regular marine premiums by the returns which they received for taking war risks; but after the war was over the complete measure of their loss was made apparent, for nearly half the ocean tonnage on which they had been called upon to take risks in 1860 had either been sold, destroyed, or condemned; and the character of maritime business was not promising enough to induce merchants to replace it by newly constructed vessels. As an offset to this, the investments made by the companies during the war, in United States bonds and in the stock of national banks, had been to them a source of exceeding profit, so that in 1865 they were financially in a better condition than they had ever been before, though the outlook for business in the future was not in the least promising. The fire business — and most of the companies took fire as well as marine risks — continued to grow with great steadiness. In 1860 the Boston companies received in fire premiums about $1,300,000; and, as they did but a small agency business at that time outside of the State, it is fair to estimate their Boston receipts at not less than $800,000. But for a number of years the Boston companies had not been sole possessors of the local field. Year after year companies from other cities had established agencies here, so that in 1860 the number of non-State companies thus represented was fifty-one. The prestige acquired by our local offices was sufficient, however, to make this outside competition

of little moment, for in the year referred to the aggregate premium receipts in Boston of the non-State companies was less than $250,000. By degrees, however, a change took place, and thus in 1866 there were seventy non-State fire and marine companies doing business in our city, and thirty-seven life companies; while, in 1870, ninety-one fire and marine companies from other States and countries made returns to the State Insurance Commissioner of their Boston business. But while these non-State companies came in large numbers to our city, the Boston local companies, with the exception of the life institutions, did very little to extend their business abroad. A few of the fire companies entered to a limited extent into the agency field, but the system of scattering risks over a vast area was not popular with our underwriters. The most thoughtful of them never supposed for a moment that a fire could occur in Boston of sufficient magnitude to make it impossible for them to pay their losses in full. The home business was one which they thoroughly understood; and when they compared the experience of their companies with those of other States, they were strengthened in their conviction that the profits in the agency field were altogether too meagre and uncertain to pay for the risk and trouble involved in entering it. Two or three of them took risks in Chicago, and the others did at times a small business in some of the cities on the Atlantic seaboard; but with the exception of one company, — the National, — none did what is termed an agency business; and even in this solitary instance the change was an experimental one. In consequence of the confidence reposed in them by the property owners of this city, their business at home was sufficiently large to preclude the necessity of seeking for risks abroad. During the period from 1860 to 1871 these companies paid their stockholders dividends which averaged higher than fifteen per cent per annum, and at the same time laid up large surpluses; and this was almost wholly due to the fire business, as there was a constant decrease in the volume of marine risks taken, and a disproportionate falling off in the premium received for assuming these, — a result doubtless due to the keen competition which the steady diminution of the business occasioned.

In 1871 the Chicago fire occurred, causing the sudden bankruptcy of three of the four Boston companies that had ventured to establish agencies there. If this was a warning to owners of property here not to trust too implicitly in the value of indemnity promised by local companies, it was also looked upon by the officers of these institutions as positive evidence that they were sound in their reasoning that an extended agency business could not be carried on with success through a term of years. After this fire quite a number of the merchants of this city divided their risks, so that they might have the guarantees of non-State as well as local companies; but, in spite of this change, the latter still held the larger part of the business.

In November, 1872, the great Boston fire occurred, and, as a natural result of what has just been said, it found our local companies burdened down so heavily with risks that in all but three instances they were wholly

incapable of meeting the claims that were presented to them. This fire taught the underwriters and the property-owning classes in this city a very severe lesson. The former were made to realize that though under favorable conditions a highly profitable business could be done by confining their attentions to a limited field of operations, yet, in order to avoid the overwhelming loss resulting from a conflagration, it was necessary to be content with smaller profits, and to take isolated risks covering a wide area of territory. On the other hand, the latter were made to perceive that a company that did not practise this system of dissemination was not in great emergencies a safe company to depend upon.

The consequence of this has been that the fire-insurance business in Boston has, during the past eight years, undergone a complete change. In 1860 about two thirds of the risks in this city were protected by policies issued from Boston offices, the companies having agencies here taking the remainder. In 1870 the risks were nearly evenly divided between the two, while in 1880 the non-State companies, numbering one hundred and thirty, were doing more than three fourths of the fire insurance business of Boston. By far the larger proportion of Boston fire underwriters are the agents of non-State companies. A new class of men have sprung up to meet the present demands of the business. Young, active, and progressive, they have in many instances brought with them the results of experience acquired in other cities and States. Forced by the contraction in their local receipts to make good the deficiency elsewhere, the Boston companies have established agencies in hundreds of different places in the Eastern and Western States. The officer of a Boston fire company at the present time is obliged to inform himself as thoroughly of the various hazards connected with the business in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, as he is to acquaint himself with the risks of his own city. In a like manner the marine companies of Boston, having found the local field too narrow for them, have been compelled to appoint agents in the various great centres of commerce. Thus, with the life, fire, and marine insurance companies of this city, the business begun upon a small and contracted scale has gradually spread out until it embraces the larger part of the United States. The companies are still Boston companies, and their officers are still Boston men; but, as applied to them, these terms do not convey the significance which they once did, for many of the pleasing features of the so-called provincialism of the past are fast disappearing.

Osborne Howes, Jr.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRADE, COMMERCE, AND NAVIGATION OF BOSTON, 1780–1880.

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WHEN the struggle between the Colonies and the mother country culminated at length in actual hostilities, Boston was the most flourishing town on the North American continent.[1] It had a population estimated by different authorities at from sixteen to eighteen thousand, actively and profitably engaged in various industrial and commercial pursuits. Its merchants had dealings with Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, the Canaries, and even with Guinea and Madagascar, and many of them had accumulated large wealth. In fact, it was its commerce, and the persistent determination of its citizens that this commerce should be untrammelled in its movement and unconfined in its scope, which during many years had kept it in a state of almost constant antagonism with the authorities at home,[2] and which at last, in the month of December, 1773, had led to the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor.[3] The Home Government had been determined to break up the contraband trade of the colonial merchants with Holland and her possessions, and to secure the colonial markets for the supply of tea[4] to the British East India Company. The risk of seizure for many years had been small, and it is said that not one chest in five hundred of that which was landed in Boston fell into the hands of the officers of the customs.[5] The despatch of the tea-ships, and their reception, had indicated that the parties on both sides were now in serious earnest, and that the character of the pending controversy was to be changed from angry correspondence to actual and open warfare. The Port Bill followed, by which Boston was to be punished, humiliated, and, if possible, crushed; and it was executed with a rigor, probably, that went beyond the intentions of its authors.

[1] Bancroft's *Hist. of the United States*, vii. 48.

[2] "The American Revolution was not so much a liberation from political as from commercial thraldom." — Hunt's *Lives of American Merchants*, ii. 390.

[3] [See Vol. III. chap. i. — ED.] The value of this article annually consumed in America is estimated to have been £300,000, and "nearly the whole quantity was smuggled." Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts were the great marts.

[4] Tea is said to have been first introduced into this country in the year 1721. In 1750 a duty on tea and coffee was laid by the Province, but it was felt to be a burden by the people of the town.

[5] Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, i. 8, 9.

The people of Boston had many gloomy forebodings which were not altogether realized; nor did the war, when it came upon them, bring immediate and utter ruin. As has been said, there was a reserve of wealth to be drawn upon in the time of necessity. During the entire period of the Revolutionary struggle, and particularly as the seat of war came to be more and more distant, an irregular commerce was carried on, and privateering also, which proved very profitable.[1] Mr. Sabine says that during the most distressing periods of the contest useless articles of luxury were imported, and that those who remained at home showed themselves able both to maintain themselves and to provide for those who served in the field.[2] Indeed, as has been only too plainly and sadly seen in our own day, the period of war became a period also of luxury and of dissipation. Extravagance in living in the year 1782 would seem to have exceeded anything of the kind previously known in Massachusetts. Samuel Adams, on his return from the meeting of Congress in that year, sought in co-operation with some of his friends to stem the tide of dissipation then carrying all before it; and public meetings, at which he presided, were held with this end in view. As his biographer says, he was "far from being a bigoted opponent of innocent pleasures, but he was filled with misgivings at the state of things which then prevailed."[3]

But the prevailing prosperity was largely fictitious, — the commercial activity as well as the lavish expenditure being the result of a depreciated currency, which is ever the fruitful source of demoralization and social corruption. The public debt for those times was enormous, the taxes were wellnigh ruinous, and private debts had accumulated fearfully in the effort to meet the tax payments. In July, 1782, the Tender Act was passed, by which debts were made payable in other property than money, so that executions might be legally satisfied by neat cattle and other enumerated articles. The effect of this, we are told, was to weaken implicit reliance on the inviolability of legal engagements as between debtor and creditor.

With the depreciation of the paper currency, the prices of commodities advanced in more than corresponding ratio. Efforts were made to check the advance, and to maintain an artificial value to the paper obligations of the Commonwealth. At a meeting of merchants and others concerned in trade in Boston, held in Faneuil Hall, June 16, 1779, it was determined that no advance upon any article of merchandise should be made upon the prices then current; that from and after July 15 following, the prices should be as they had been on the previous first day of May; and that after that date there should be a monthly reduction of prices, provided the other towns in the State should adopt similar measures. It was further agreed by the merchants and traders that they would neither buy nor sell silver or

[1] [See Vol III. pp. 90, 92, 118, 182. — Ed.]

[2] Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, i. 144, 145.

[3] In a letter to John Scollay, about this time, he wrote: "I love the people of Boston; I once thought that city would be the Christian Sparta. But, alas! will men never be free? They will be free no longer than while they remain virtuous." — *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, iii. 156–158.

gold, that they would not fail to expose any person who, to their knowledge, demanded hard money for goods or rents, and that they would exert themselves to bring to punishment all offenders against an Act of the State "entituled an Act against Monopoly and Forestalling." One of the resolutions adopted was as follows: —

"*Resolved*, That all those who shall hereafter dare refuse Continental money, or require hard money for rents or any article whatever, shall not remain among us, but be transported to our enemies as unworthy or dangerous members of society." [1]

On the 14th of July of the same year a convention was held at Concord, the object of which was stated to be to regulate prices for the purpose of making "the currency stable;" and at another meeting held in Faneuil Hall, August 16, at which Samuel Adams presided, it was resolved, "That all holders and retailers of European wares and merchandise shall, from this time forward, sell all such articles at twenty per cent, or one fifth part, less than the prices at which the same articles were sold in the month of July last, that being the average reduction in the prices of West India goods." [2]

But the endeavor to keep down the price of commodities and to keep up the value of the paper promises of the Government, by resolutions adopted in town-meeting or elsewhere, failed signally, as all such endeavors must fail; and the harsher and more violent remedies with reference to those who might demand a full equivalent for their wares were not long persisted in, for in August, 1780, we find various articles of merchandise — English goods, sterling Madeira, Malaga wines, currants, etc. — openly advertised in the papers as for sale by W. & J. Molineux, in State Street, with the announcement that "Hard or paper money, French, Spanish, or Dutch Bills of Exchange," would be received in payment for any of the above goods.[3]

[1] The following are some of the prices at wholesale, fixed at this meeting: Windward rum, £7 10*s.* a gallon; New England rum, £5 8*s.* a gallon; molasses, £5 2*s.* a gallon; coffee, 18*s.* a pound; brown sugar, 65*s.* to 80*s.* a cwt.; tea (by the chest), 8*s.* a pound; cotton wool (by the bag), 36*s.* a pound; German steel, 36*s.* a pound; and salt (until July 15), 15*s.* a bushel. A committee of merchants appointed to carry the action of the meeting into effect consisted of "John Rowe, Esq., chairman; William Cooper, Esq., Deacon Sharpe, Captain Isaac Philips, Colonel Edward Procter, Captain Gustavus Fellows, Major Thomas Mellvil, Mr. Henry Prentiss, Mr. William Hoskins, Captain Alexander Wilson, Dr. Nathaniel Noyes, Mr. Samuel Ruggels, Captain John Pulling." — *Independent Chronicle*, June 17, 1779.

[2] At this meeting the prices of labor were also fixed.

[3] The following table, taken from the *Independent Chronicle* of Oct. 12, 1780, shows the course and extent of the downward movement in the Continental currency: —

		Value of Gold and Silver.	*Value of Continental Currency.*
1777.	January	$100	$105
,,	December	100	310
1778.	April	100	400
,,	December	100	634
1779.	February	100	868
,,	May	100	1,215
,,	September	100	1,800
1780.	January	100	2,934
,,	February	100	3,322
,,	March	100	3,736
,,	April	100	4,000

It was resolved in council in Philadelphia, May 2, 1781, "that the rate of exchange be estimated at one hundred and seventy-five Continental dollars for one dollar in specie."

On the 19th of August, 1781, prices of merchandise and of labor were again "fixed" at a meeting of free-holders held in Faneuil Hall.

In the mean time taxation had been bearing heavily on the people, and there seemed to be no prospect of relief from its pressure. In 1782, and for several subsequent years, the taxes were as high as they had been during the six years preceding. Besides the immense debt, the annual instalments and interest of which required a large amount of money, and the arrears of old taxes to be collected, Congress was calling continually for the means with which to discharge pressing demands on the United States, and to make partial payments to the officers and soldiers when they should be discharged.[1] Peace, and the recognition by Great Britain of American independence, came in the winter of 1782–83, but the burden of public and private debt still remained. The debt of Massachusetts for expenses incurred for its own protection during the war was nearly five millions of dollars, without taking into the estimate its liability to pay the demands of those who held the paper money which had been emitted during the war. The available resources of the State were inadequate to discharge this debt, and for several years the interest had not been paid.[2]

With the advent of peace, every description of merchandise arrived from abroad in large quantities, and prices fell rapidly.[3] The newspapers of the time are filled with advertisements of goods just received from British and other European ports.[4] Many representatives of English houses made their appearance, and some Boston business men returned who had been residing in England during the war, and all brought speculative ventures with them. Dr. Price, an intelligent writer on economic questions, and a steadfast friend of the newly independent States, in a letter from London, said: "The imports into the United States will probably be much greater this year than for a year or two afterward, through the eagerness of adventurers to introduce goods, whereby the market will be overstocked. It will be some time before trade can get into the regular course of circulation, and the exports be procurable to tally with the imports." These predictions were speedily fulfilled; supply far exceeded demand; prices declined to a

[1] In 1782 the tax in Massachusetts was £200,000. In 1783 it was the same amount. "New loans were obtained, and the law for an impost went into operation and produced no inconsiderable revenue. An exhibit by Congress stated the sum wanted for the year to be $6,000,000, — $4,000,000 to be borrowed in Europe and $2,000,000 to be furnished by the States, of which $320,000 would be the proportion of Massachusetts. At the same time, Congress recommended to the States to raise a million and a half annually for twenty-five years, the proportion of which for Massachusetts would be $224,000." — Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, pp. 302, 303.

Soon after the peace, an additional tax of $470,000 was voted for the purpose of paying the officers and soldiers a part of their dues.

[2] Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 317. Four millions of the debt referred to above were assumed by the Federal Government, and, at a later period, a million and a quarter more.

[3] In the *Independent Chronicle* of May 16, 1783, David Sears offers goods for sale at his store in State Street, "at peace prices." [This gentleman had gone to England in May, 1775, in the same vessel with Mrs. Copley, and it is probable that a miniature of him by Copley, now in the family, was painted in London. Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, supplement, p. 6. He was the father of the late Hon. David Sears. The Sears genealogy is worked out in an appendix to Edmund H. Sears's *Pictures of the Olden Time*. Boston, 1857. — Ed.]

[4] One announcement is worthy of special mention. Under date of June 5, 1783, we read: "This morning arrived a ship from Cork, loaded with beef, pork, and butter."

ruinous point; failures followed; and, in the absence of exports, the country began to be drained of its specie. A London paper of March 9, 1784, remarks: —

"Two ships are arrived in our river from Boston in New England, both in ballast, not having been able to procure cargoes of any kind, though they had (what is most desirable in that country) specie to pay for all they should have brought away. It appears from hence that the northern parts of the American States are in a much worse situation than the provinces to the southward. Boston was once the most flourishing place in America, and employed near five hundred sail of shipping, besides coasting and fishing vessels, which were numerous to a degree. Besides the trade which subsisted within themselves, they were to America what Holland has been to Europe, — the carriers for all the other Colonies. At present, their distillery is entirely at a stand; their peltry and fur trade, once so considerable, is entirely over; the fishery is exceedingly trifling; instead of the vast exports of hemp, flax, tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, lumber, and provisions, the only thing that offered at Boston, when the above ships sailed, was train-oil, which they got up at a high price." [1]

We are indebted to English writers of the day, not only for the sombre but graphic sketch of business affairs in Boston just after the peace, quoted above, but also for a generous estimate of what the commercial capabilities of the country were, and for an intelligent judgment as to what its policy should be. The *London Evening Post*, commenting on the steady drain of specie from the United States to pay for importations from Europe, said:

"Can a country want trade who can build ships cheaper than any part of the world; whose cod fisheries can be carried on with such advantages; who can manufacture the valuable exports of pot and pearl ashes; whose produce of lumber, naval stores, tobacco, rice, indigo, and flour are so abundant; and who lay so convenient to supply the West India Islands with all necessaries? These are the grand objects of America, and the system to be adopted by them is to make their exports exceed the amount of their imports, and instead of being debtors, they may establish themselves as creditors in the trade of Europe." [2]

[1] See *Independent Chronicle*, April 16, 1784.

[2] Ibid., May 27, 1784. Although the article from which we have given an extract above referred to the country at large, its real significance and force related to Massachusetts. In reference to this province, more than sixty years before, in 1721, the Board of Trade had made a report to the King, in which it was said that its products proper for the consumption of Great Britain were "timber, turpentine, tar and pitch, masts, pipes and hogsheads, staves, whale fins and oil, and some furs;" that it had a trade to "the foreign plantations in America, consisting chiefly in the exportation of horses to Surinam and to Martinico and the other French islands," whence came in return sugar, molasses, and rum, "which was a very great discouragement to the sugar planters in the British islands." The same report said further, in reference to the people of Massachusetts: "The branch of trade which was of the greatest importance to them, and which they were best enabled to carry on, was the building of ships, sloops, etc." About a hundred and fifty vessels were built in a year, measuring six thousand tons. Most of these were built for sale abroad, but there belonged to the province "about a hundred and ninety sail, which might contain six thousand tons, and were navigated by about eleven hundred men, besides a hundred and fifty boats, with six hundred men, employed in the fisheries on their own coast." — See Palfrey's *History of New England*, iv. 429.

In a foot-note on the same page Dr. Palfrey says: "According to information which the historian Neale professed to have obtained from the King's Custom House, 24,000 tons of shipping cleared annually from Boston about the year 1719."

The shipment of specie under the circumstances which have been described could not be maintained for any length of time, and the cessation of remittances, when it came, brought disaster to those who had sold or consigned goods from the other side of the Atlantic. London dates to Aug. 27, 1784, reported: "No less than five great American houses tumbled in the City yesterday, one to the tune of £140,000. With regard to American connexions since the peace, it may be safely said, *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.*" Again, under date of September 3, it was said: "But few large fortunes have been made shipping goods to American houses, even before the war. Those who got money in that country had stores of their own, kept by their partners or factors, who had no separate interest, and were anxious to make early remittances. Where the same plan has been followed (with this difference, that no credit has been given) money was got last year, and to these people the prospects of this summer are by no means discouraging." And later (September 24): "Very few of the last orders from America will be executed, as the tradesmen are coming to their senses. Very few dollars make their appearance now; indeed, the new States are almost exhausted of specie already."[1]

In the winter of 1783–84, some of the leading merchants of Boston took measures for the establishment of a bank of deposit and issue, believing that such an institution would have a conservative influence on the trade of the town, by promoting promptness in the payment of debts, and by maintaining the standard of individual credit, while it would facilitate the transaction of legitimate business. In December, 1783, an advertisement appeared in the papers, as follows: "The utility of a bank established on right principles being generally known and acknowledged, a plan has been projected, and is now ready for the patronage of those gentlemen who wish to derive the many public and private advantages which have resulted from such institutions in other countries. Copies of the plan are lodged with, and subscriptions received by, William Phillips, Isaac Smith, Jonathan Mason, Thomas Russell, John Lowell, and Stephen Higginson, Esqrs., and at the offices of Edward Payne, John Hurd, and M. M. Hays, Esqrs."[2] On the 12th of February, 1784, the committee reported progress, and advertised for "three or four iron chests." An act of incorporation had been obtained under the name of the Massachusetts Bank; and on the 26th of February William Phillips, Isaac Smith, and Jonathan Mason, by virtue of the powers vested in them by the act, called a meeting for organization "to be holden

[1] "The excessive importations of 1784 and 1785, and the drain of specie which followed had the effect of deranging the State finances; for many who had been extravagant in their purchases thought it first necessary to pay the debts they had thus incurred, so far as they were able, and to leave the payment of their taxes to a future day. Had the taxes from 1781 to 1784 been promptly paid, the pressure in the years which followed would have been less severe." — Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 312.

In 1785, Governor Bowdoin proposed the establishment in the interior of the State of a large manufactory of pot and pearl ashes. He believed that by the production of these articles in sufficient quantities to meet the demand for export, the shipment of specie would be checked; but the plan was not adopted. Ibid. p. 310.

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 18, 1783.

at Colonel Martin's in State Street, on Thursday, the 18th of March next, at ten o'clock A. M." The call concluded with the following monition: "As punctuality in all respects is of the greatest importance in such an institution, the stockholders or their substitutes will observe the hour fixed, and govern themselves accordingly."[1] The meeting was held pursuant to notice, and the following directors were chosen and announced in alphabetical order, as follows: James Bowdoin, president; Samuel Breck, George Cabot, Stephen Higginson, John Lowell, Jonathan Mason, Samuel A. Otis, Edward Payne, William Phillips, Thomas Russell, Isaac Smith, and Oliver Wendell.[2] The directors advertised for a "cashier, accomptant, teller, clerk, and sub-teller," and for a banking house. The bank first occupied the old Manufactory House;[3] but it purchased the American Coffee House in State Street, in April, 1792, and put up a building there for its own use.[4]

The citizens of the United States might well have supposed, that, having achieved their independence, their commercial enterprise would now have free play upon the ocean; and that although they could no longer lay claim to the precise privileges and immunities which they had formerly enjoyed as subjects of the British crown, they would be able to put in exercise on the sea, no less than on the land, all the rights attaching to the citizens of a sovereign State. But if such was their expectation, they were soon to be disappointed. The same mischievous disposition as of old, to prescribe and to limit the channels in which American trade should flow, was manifested by the British Government, notwithstanding the results of war and dismemberment of the empire which this policy, persisted in, had brought to pass. It had been found impracticable to negotiate a commercial treaty in behalf of the United States with Great Britain, and another course of restrictive legislation was now entered upon by the Government of the latter country, more severe in some respects, and certainly more galling to the citizens of the former, than that which previously had driven them into rebellion. The trade with the West India Islands had been very large and remunerative. In the prosecution of this, the merchants found themselves hampered and crippled, and in imminent danger of being cut off from it altogether. American vessels were forbidden to carry the products of the British West Indies to England; only American products could be imported direct from the United States into England, not even British ships being allowed to bring West India products as formerly from America.

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Feb. 26, 1784. [See further on the Massachusetts Bank in the chapter on "Finance in Boston" in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Ibid. March 25, 1784.

[3] [For the previous history of the Manufactory House see Vol. II. pp. xxvi., 511, and the chapter on "Industries" in this volume. — Ed.]

[4] It was announced in June, 1784, that the Bank of New York would soon commence operations, as the president and directors had been qualified on the 22d of the preceding month, "before His Worship the Mayor, to conduct the business of the bank to the best of their knowledge and abilities for the interest and benefit of the proprietors, and agreeable to the true intent and meaning of their constitution." — *Independent Chronicle*, June 10, 1784. The Union Bank of Boston was incorporated in 1792. It was "predicated on principles designed and adapted to the accommodation of landholders."

The Order in Council of April 17, 1784, permitted only unmanufactured goods (except oil) and pitch, tar, turpentine, indigo, masts, yards, and bowsprits, being the growth or production of any of the United States, to be imported directly from them into any of the ports of the United Kingdom, either in British or American ships, by British subjects or by any of the people inhabiting in or belonging to the said United States, or any of them. The products of the West India Islands could be exported to the United States only in British ships, and the products of the United States could be imported into the West Indies, including the Bahamas and Bermudas, only by "British subjects in British-built vessels, owned by His Majesty's subjects and navigated according to law."

These harsh and indefensible regulations provoked much indignation in the American cities and towns, and led to serious deliberation and consultation among the merchants as to the course they should adopt in their own defence. It was seen that a general policy of some kind would have to be agreed upon, and that it might become necessary to retaliate.[1] A meeting of merchants, traders, and others was held in Faneuil Hall on the 16th of April, 1785, at which a very spirited and positive preamble and series of resolutions were adopted The preamble was as follows: "Whereas no commercial treaty is at present established between these United States and Great Britain, and whereas certain British merchants, factors, and agents from England are now residing in this town, who have received large quantities of English goods and are in expectation of receiving further supplies, imported in British bottoms or otherways, greatly to the hindrance of freight in all American vessels." The resolutions called for the appointment of a committee to enter into correspondence with other seaports, ordered a memorial to Congress, and pledged the honor of the citizens not to purchase from, or have commercial connections with, the said British merchants, factors, and agents, and not to sell or let to them warehouses, shops, houses, or any other place for the sale of their goods.[2]

In July, 1785, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act for the regulation of navigation and commerce. It prohibited the exportation of any of the products of the United States from the ports of the Commonwealth in British ships, until the removal of the restrictions imposed by Great Britain which have been enumerated; it laid a heavy tonnage duty, a light money tax, and double duties on goods brought into Massachusetts in British vessels. This was followed by similar legislation in Rhode Island and New York.[3]

[1] The Philadelphia merchants addressed circular-letters to the other great trading communities, urging that restrictions be laid on the trade of all the nations which forbade their carrying even the products of their own country into their ports; for Great Britain had not been the only power which had thus sought to interfere with their commerce, although both in the extent of its restrictions and in the method of enforcing them it had shown more severity than any other.

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, April 21, 1785.

[3] Ibid., July 7, 1785. In the same paper, of July 21, an extract is given from a letter written from Boston, June 17, to a merchant in Halifax, in which it is said: "After August, a British vessel arriving here will be obliged to pay five pounds a ton, and twenty-five per cent on all

In July, 1785, there was not a single British merchantman in the harbor of Boston, and it was beginning to be understood that no free entry would be granted until there had been an abatement of the rigor of the British navigation system. It began to be seen, also, that the restrictive policy did not make it the more easy to the business men of the United States to meet their engagements with their English creditors. In the month of November London dates were received to September 3, and among other news it was said: "Thursday, three capital houses in the City were obliged to stop payment, on account of the remittances from America not arriving according to promise for goods sent to that country."

The intelligence of what had been done by the Legislature of Massachusetts made a great impression in mercantile circles in England; but the Government were not to be turned aside from the purpose to which they had committed themselves. A letter from the West Indies reached Boston in April, 1786, in which it was said: "The ministry suppose they have now put a finishing stroke to the building and increase of American vessels; an act has lately been passed in England, and instructions arrived in February, that no American-built vessel should be employed or owned by British subjects on any pretence whatever, except such as were built before the year 1776; and in case of dispute, the carpenters of the ships of war are to determine the build. American vessels condemned for smuggling are to be burnt hereafter, not sold." It was further stated that three hundred sail of brigs, schooners, and sloops employed in the trade among the Islands would be rendered useless by this legislation.[1]

Notwithstanding the various drawbacks and hindrances to which we have referred, the merchants of Boston gave way to no feeling of discouragement; and their enterprise, as we shall see, so far from abating in any degree, was at this very juncture pushing toward more distant fields of effort, and reaching toward larger and richer rewards than had yet been attained. While they did not propose to abandon to their rivals the trade of the Atlantic, they determined to participate in the commerce of more distant seas; and they might well expect that they would thus be able to avoid the vexatious interference with which they had always had to contend nearer home. The *New York Gazetteer* said: "Thank God! the intrigues of a Christian court do not influence the wise decrees of the Eastern world."

In July, 1784, we find an advertisement of "fresh teas taken out of an Indiaman and brought by Captain Hallet from the Cape of Good Hope,"

goods on board, so that you will govern yourself accordingly."

"The General Court prohibited British vessels to carry the products of the State; they were also forbid entering and unlading when they brought cargoes from ports from which American vessels were excluded, and only three places of entry were allowed within the State." Bradford's *History of Mass.* p. 311.

This legislation was made to apply at first to other countries besides Great Britain; but it was repealed, so far as it related to them, on the 29th of November in the same year.

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, April 13, 1786. The American shipping employed in the foreign trade of Great Britain had been a good deal more than half as much as the British, and as ships could be built in New England and sold in Britain for one third less than British-built vessels, there had been a constant demand there for them. All this was now to be stopped.

to be had at P. Bowen's store, Dock Square.[1] American mercantile enterprise was just beginning to venture beyond the Cape, but with doubtful results. A London paper of March 16, 1785, said: "The Americans have given up all thought of a China trade, which never can be carried on to advantage without some settlement in the East Indies. The ship they fitted out for China, soon after the peace, has been offered to sale in France for a sum less than the outfit."[2] The judgment thus expressed was rather premature; as two months later, almost to a day, May 18, the ship "Empress of China," Captain Greene, arrived at New York from the East Indies, after a round voyage of fourteen months and twenty-four days. She had sailed from New York in February, 1784, touched at the Cape de Verdes, and reached Canton in August.[3] On the 5th of December, 1785, Elias Hasket Derby of Salem despatched the "Grand Turk," under command of Captain West, on the first voyage from New England to the Isle of France, India, and China. In some of Mr. Derby's later voyages to the East Indies he was joined by Boston merchants, among others by David Sears and Samuel Parkman.[4]

Mr. Samuel Shaw[5] had gone out and returned as supercargo in the "Empress of China," and he had brought with him much valuable information, which he was able to turn to good account. He sailed again from New York, in the ship "Hope," Captain James Magee, Feb. 4, 1786, having been commissioned as American consul at the port of Canton, and being accompanied by Mr. Isaac Sears and Captain Thomas Randall.[6] In

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, July 29, 1784.

[2] Ibid. May 5, 1785.

[3] The "Empress of China" was three hundred and sixty tons. A large part of the cargo taken by her was ginseng (four hundred and forty piculs), to be exchanged at Canton for teas and manufactured goods. The English ships were then carrying out lead and large quantities of cloth, which latter the East India Company was obliged by its charter to export annually to China for the encouragement of the home woollen manufacture.

[4] These new and longer voyages required much more capital than the trade to which the merchants had been accustomed, and it was found convenient by them to combine for the purpose of engaging in it. The following advertisement appears in the *Independent Chronicle* of June 23, 1785:—

"Proposals for building and fitting out a ship for the East India trade have been approved of by a considerable number of citizens, who met at Mr. Walter Heyer's in King Street, on Thursday evening last. Several gentlemen are named to receive subscriptions, and this is to give notice that another meeting is appointed on Wednesday evening next, at the same house, when any citizen who wishes to become interested may have an opportunity. A single share is only $300."

[5] Mr. Shaw was born in Boston in 1764, and was educated at the Latin School. He served in the army of the Revolution, held the rank of major, and was on the staff of General Knox. At the close of the war he gave himself to commercial pursuits, for which he had originally been destined. He was a finished scholar and an accomplished gentleman, as well as a sound and able merchant; and his early death was a public as well as private loss. While at home, in 1792, he married a daughter of the Hon. William Phillips. He died at sea May 30, 1794. The late Robert Gould Shaw was his nephew.

On his arrival in China for the first time, Mr. Shaw was taken for an Englishman, and he had to make it known to the Chinese authorities through the French consul that he and his companions were Americans, "a free, independent, and sovereign nation, not connected with Great Britain." He says in his Journal: "They styled us the 'New People,' and when by the map we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of their own empire." [See Josiah Quincy's *Life of Samuel Shaw*, and the note to Mr. Porter's chapter in Vol. III. p. 38. — Ed.]

[6] Captain Randall had been his companion on his first voyage, and had shared in the duties and emoluments of the supercargoship.

June, 1787, he wrote a despatch to the Hon. John Jay, "Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs," in which he said: —

"The inhabitants of America must have tea, the consumption of which will naturally increase with the increasing population of our country. And while the nations of Europe are obliged to purchase this commodity with ready money, it must be pleasing to an American to know that his country can have it on easier terms, and that the otherwise useless product of her mountains and forests will in a considerable degree supply her with this elegant luxury. The advantages peculiar to America in this instance are striking, and the manner in which her commerce has commenced and is now going on with this country has not a little alarmed the Europeans. They have seen, the first year, a single ship, not one fifth part of whose funds consisted of ready money, procure a cargo of the same article and on equally good terms as those of their own ships, purchased for the most part with specie. They have seen this ship again here on her second voyage, and four others in addition. They see these ships depending, and that too with sufficient reason, upon the productions of their own country to supply them with the merchandise of this; and though a very small portion of their funds consisted of specie, they see them all returning with full and valuable cargoes. Such are the advantages which America derives from her ginseng.

"Until the American flag appeared in this quarter, it had been generally supposed that forty or fifty piculs (one hundred and thirty-three and one-third pounds) were equal to the annual consumption; but experience has proved the contrary. Upwards of four hundred and forty piculs were brought here by the first American ship in 1784, which did not equal the quantity brought from Europe the same season, the greatest part of which must have been previously sent there by citizens of the United States. The present year more than eighteen hundred piculs have been sold, one half of which came in the American vessels. Notwithstanding this increased quantity since 1784, the sales have not been materially affected by it, and it is probable that there will always be a sufficient demand for the article to make it equally valuable."

Mr. Shaw's expectations in relation to ginseng were not destined to be fulfilled. The article continued to be, and still is, shipped to China in moderate quantities,[1] but other forms of remittance were to be brought to light far more profitable than this could ever have been.

At the session of the General Court in March 1787 it was ordered that a portion of the tax then in process of collection might be paid in public securities, and this proved a great accommodation to the people, who were able to purchase them at a price far below their nominal value. "Commerce increased, and afforded a revenue which was a great help; but the avails were less than if there had been uniform regulations in all the States."[2]

Ship-building was active in Boston, and the general condition of trade satisfactory, in the summer of 1788,[3] as we learn by way of London, in one

[1] The export of ginseng in 1806 reached 448,394 pounds, valued at $139,000. — *Pitkin's Com. of the U. S.* p. 49. Ginseng imported into Canton, during the year ended Aug. 31, 1879:

Clarified	. . . . .	piculs, 179	$44,623.50
Crude	. . . . .	„ 184	34,968.00
		363	$79,591.50

[2] Alden Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 327.

[3] In August, 1788, the exports from the port of Boston "for the year past," were stated to have been £145,146, 5*s*. 4*d*. The principal articles were boards and staves, fish, rum, flour and provisions, pot and pearl ashes, furs, oil, candles,

of the papers of which city it was said: "Saturday, some despatches were received from Boston, which are dated July 20. They contain an account of the builders going on very fast on the shipping; that four large ships of three hundred tons were to be launched the beginning of August; that trade continued brisk, and that everything was quiet in that quarter."[1] Under date of November 20, in the same year, we find the ships "Hercules" and "Omphale" advertised for the Isles of France and India; "any person wishing to adventure to that part of the world may have an opportunity of sending goods on freight. The terms may be known by applying to Thomas Russell, at his store in Boston." On the 25th of December the ship "Adventure" was cleared for the Isles of France, and on the 16th of April, 1789, the ship "Friendship" arrived from Madras.[2]

The tax in Massachusetts for 1788 was $220,000. In 1789 it was much less. At this period, we are told, "lands rose in value, agricultural produce bore a high price, commerce increased and was very profitable, and the labor of mechanics was in demand and well rewarded." Under a judicious management of the finances the amount of the revenue was far greater than had been anticipated, and public securities, which had been often sold at one sixth of their face, rose to par.[3]

Captain Magee, on his return from China in the "Hope," took command of the ship "Astræa," belonging to Mr. Derby of Salem, and sailed again to the same destination from Boston in February, 1789.[4] Mr. Thomas

leather and shoes, tea, coffee, molasses, and naval stores. We give a few of the values: —

	£	s.	d.
Fish	66,245	17	00
New England Rum	50,620	10	00
Oil	34,864	00	00
Pot and Pearl Ashes	30,485	00	00
Flour	13,420	16	00
Flaxseed	10,360	00	00
Furs	10,000	00	00

At this time, or a little later, there were two hundred and forty establishments in the Commonwealth, engaged in the manufacture of pot and pearl ashes, nearly, if not quite, all the product of which came to Boston for exportation. [See the chapter on "Industries" in the present volume. — Ed.]

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 6, 1788. The London dates were to September 6.

[2] Ibid. April 23, 1789. Nathan Bond advertises for sale by auction, at his store in Cornhill, goods ex "Friendship" from Madras, consisting of chintzes, calicoes, book-muslins, ginghams, cottons, sheetings, silks, and saltpetre.

[3] Bradford's *History of Mass.* pp. 331, 341.

[4] "In those days a Canton voyage was a serious undertaking, and as six months were required to provide the specie, ginseng, and other cargo, the ship ['Astræa'] was sent in the spring up the Baltic for iron, a schooner was sent to Madeira for wine, and letters were addressed to Mr. Derby's correspondents at New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for ginseng and specie. The 'Astræa,' on her return, met with stress of weather, and put into Newfoundland. This detention delayed her voyage until the close of the year. Upon her arrival from Russia, Mr. Derby had her thoroughly repaired, and then submitted her to a survey of three experienced merchants, who reported her to be in fine order for an India voyage. In February, 1789, he despatched her for Canton with an assorted cargo." — *Life of Elias Hasket Derby*, pp. 57, 58.

Mr. Nathaniel Silsbee, afterward Captain Silsbee, and later a prominent and successful merchant, and a Senator from Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States, came home as a passenger in the "Astræa." He had gone to China as supercargo of another of Mr. Derby's vessels, the brig "Three Sisters," which had been sold there.

Mr. Silsbee studied navigation on the voyage with Captain Magee, and in December, 1790, he shipped as second mate on board a small brig and made a voyage to Madeira, the West Indies, Baltimore, Madeira again, and back to Philadelphia. In December, 1792, he sailed in command of a new ship belonging to Mr. Derby, the "Benjamin," one hundred and ninety tons, for the Isle of France and the East Indies. Neither he nor his chief officer, Mr. Cleveland (afterward Cap-

Handasyd Perkins (connected by marriage with Captain Magee), went as supercargo; and both for himself personally, and for the community in which he was to become an eminent merchant and a distinguished citizen, the voyage was to have, as we shall presently see, most important results.

Mr. Shaw having written to his friends at home, urging them to extend their trade with China, a vessel of eight hundred and twenty tons was built at Braintree, larger than any merchant ship previously built in the United States. She was called the "Massachusetts," and was launched (or, as the papers announced the fact, she "slipt into her devoted element") in September, 1789, in the presence of six thousand people.[1] Messrs. M. M. Hays (State Street), Samuel Parkman (Merchants' Row), and William Shaw ("opposite the Golden Ball")[2] were, with Mr. Samuel Shaw who had returned to take charge of her, the parties in interest.[3] She took her departure from Boston at the end of March, 1789, saluting the fort, as she passed out, with thirteen guns, and was "esteemed as fine a ship of her dimensions as ever went to sea."[4] She touched at Batavia, having merchandise on board which had been purchased for that market, and on her arrival at Canton was sold, for what reason does not appear.[5] Mr. Shaw came back to the United States to procure another ship and prepare for another voyage. From this fourth voyage he did not live to return.[6]

tain Cleveland) had then attained the age of twenty-one. "It is not probable that the annals of the world can furnish another example of an enterprise of such magnitude, requiring the exercise of so much judgment and skill, being conducted by so young a man, aided only by those who were yet younger, and accomplished with the most entire success." — Cleveland's *Voyages*, I. Introd. p. xxxiv. The only spare canvas for the repair of a sail on board this vessel bound on a voyage of eighteen months' duration or longer, and beyond the Cape of Good Hope, was what was on the cover of the log-book. In those days vessels were sheathed with wood; they were supplied with neither chronometers nor charts; and lunar observations were unknown. As late as 1827, Mr. Silsbee records in his autobiography (which exists only in manuscript and was in the possession of his son, the late Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, who has died while these pages have been going through the press) that he made a passage in a brig to Rotterdam, and that then they had no chronometer and knew nothing of lunar observations, but navigated by dead-reckoning.

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Sept. 24, 1789. [See further in Admiral Preble's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] The Golden Ball was in Dock Square, "near the head of Green's Wharf" (1760). — *Drake's Hist. and Antiq. of Boston*, p. 810.

[3] *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 27, 1789. The ship "Massachusetts," Job Prince, master, is advertised to sail from Boston for Canton in February, and to return to New York. "Samuel Shaw goes and returns as agent for ship and cargo." His card says that after a second voyage he had resided three seasons in China.

[4] Ibid., April 1, 1790.

[5] Ibid., May 19, 1791. "We are happy in learning that the ship 'Massachusetts' of this port, Job Prince, Esq., commander, has safe arrived at Canton, and has been sold there."

[6] We glean from the papers of the day additional particulars of the movements of Boston shipping engaged in the East India trade, as follows: —

The ship "Favorite," Captain Cook, cleared for the East Indies, July 16, 1789. The arrival of the ship "Sally," Captain Cleveland, from the East Indies, is reported December 17; she left at the Isle of France Captains Folger and Frazier of Boston. The departure of the ship "Ruby," Captain Rich, for the East Indies, is announced, December 24. On the 26th of August, 1790, we read of the arrival of the "Massachusetts," under command of Captain Carpenter, from the Isle of France, after a passage of four months and two days. On the 12th of September it is stated that of twenty-three sail of American vessels which arrived at the Isle of France from the United States in the year 1789, sixteen were from this port and Salem.

Captain Cleveland, in his *Voyages*, refers to the "active and lucrative commerce with the Isles

The publication in 1784 or 1785 of the journals of the great navigator, Captain Cook, called the attention of the commercial world to the immense numbers of sea-otter to be found on the northwest coast of America. "The fur of this animal, which was first introduced into commerce in 1725, is described as a beautiful, soft, close, jet-black." The excitement produced by Cook's discovery was intense, and adventurers from many countries hastened to the Pacific to participate in the trade to which their attention had been directed. The merchants of Boston were among the first to explore this new field of enterprise, and they soon obtained, and for many years held, almost exclusive possession of it. The first expedition sent out by them consisted of the ship "Columbia," Captain Kendrick, and the sloop "Washington," Captain Gray, which sailed Sept. 30, 1787, bound to the Northwest Coast, China, and thence home to Boston. In May, 1790, the ship "Federalist," at New York from Canton, brought news of the arrival at the latter port of Captain Gray, in the "Columbia," and of the discovery of the great river to which the name of the ship had been given. The assorted cargoes of the two vessels had been exchanged for furs; these had been carried to Canton in the "Columbia" (which touched on her way thither, "for refreshment and provisions," at the Hawaiian Islands) and disposed of, and a cargo of teas had been taken on board for Boston. Three months later the now celebrated vessel made her appearance in our harbor. She fired a Federal salute as she passed the Castle, and another on coming to her moorings. It is doubtful whether her destination was generally known when she went away; but the announcement of her achievements by the "Federalist" had filled the community with enthusiasm, and the wharves were covered with people who gave her a hearty welcome on her return. Of her voyage it was said: "To Messrs. Barrel, Brown, Bulfinch, Hatch, Derby, and Pintard, who planned the voyage, their country is indebted for this experiment in a branch of commerce before unassayed by Americans. . . . The 'Columbia' and 'Washington' are the first American vessels who have circumnavigated the globe; and the 'Washington,' which is only of ninety tons burthen, is the first sloop of any nation ever sent on so great a voyage."[1] Captain Gray sailed in the "Columbia," on a second circumnavigatory voyage, in the month of September following.[2]

of France and Bourbon, which was continued up to the period of the conquest of those islands by the British, since which it has nearly ceased."

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Aug. 12, 1790. The smaller vessel may have given her name to Washington Territory. Gray's Harbor, so called, lies to the north of the mouth of the Columbia River.

[A medal was struck and taken out by the ships. Its legend read, "Columbia and Washington, commanded by J. Kendrick. Fitted at Boston, N. America, for the Pacific Ocean by J. Barrell, S. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Darby, C. Hatch, J. M. Pintard, 1787." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* April, 1870, p. 299; and 1871, p. 41. — Ed.]

[2] Canton was the only port in the Chinese empire to which foreign ships were then admitted. The port dues were very burdensome, and there was a trading company, consisting of ten or twelve native merchants, known as the Cohoang, which had a monopoly of the trade, and which paid a considerable sum to the Government for the exclusive privileges which it enjoyed. "Though the first adventures in the fur trade met with a good market at Canton, as the number increased the profits diminished, and it

This new opening for trade had not escaped the shrewd observation of Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, during his residence in China. While making himself acquainted with the habits of the Chinese, and collecting a fund of information relating to the trade of the empire in all its branches, he had ascertained the value of sea-otter skins and other furs from the Northwest Coast, "which formed the basis of action for him afterward in planning numerous voyages and directing mercantile operations of great importance between America, Asia, and Europe." On returning home, he found the country united and established under the Constitution of 1789; and although under the Federal government it had been found necessary to lay heavy customs duties for revenue, especially upon teas, he was satisfied that the confidence and stability to trade which were given by the new order of things more than compensated for the tax.[1] He immediately despatched the brig "Hope," Captain Joseph Ingraham, for the Northwest Coast and China. In April, 1791, Captain Ingraham discovered a cluster of islands in the Pacific, a few degrees south of the equator, to two of which he gave the names of Washington and Adams. The islands are now known as part of the Marquesas group, but the names then given still appear on the maps. The main objects of the voyage of the "Hope" were defeated by untoward circumstances; but before this could have been known to Mr. Perkins, he and his friend Captain Magee had built another vessel, the "Margaret," for the same trade. A paragraph in the *Independent Chronicle* of Oct. 27, 1791, informing the public of the departure of this ship, gives us a glimpse at the commercial activity then prevailing in the town: —

"Upwards of seventy sail of vessels sailed from this port on Monday last for all parts of the world. Among them was the ship 'Margaret,' James Magee, Esq., commander, bound on a voyage of observation and enterprise to the northwest coast of this continent. This vessel is copper-bottomed, and is said to be the best provided of any one that ever sailed from this port."[2]

was always in the power of the Coho-ang, to be regulated by its members at their pleasure." — *Independent Chronicle*, June 16, 1791.

[1] "No State was more benefited by the adoption of the Federal Constitution than Massachusetts. The pursuits of a large portion of her people were directed to commerce and navigation, and these prospered under the new government. The debt had been a heavy burden, and a cause of constant complaint; this was to be provided for by Congress, except a comparatively small amount which the State was required to take care of." — Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 330.

The arrivals from abroad at the port of Boston in the year 1790 were 60 ships, 7 snows, 159 brigs, 170 schooners, 59 sloops; total, 455. This was exclusive of the vessels employed in the coasting trade, which were supposed to amount to 1,200 sail. The duties on tonnage (foreign and American) collected from Oct. 1, 1789, to Sept. 30, 1790, in the States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York, were as follows: —

Massachusetts,	197,368 tons.	$21,027
Pennsylvania,	109,918 "	30,449
New York,	92,114 "	25,480

For the same year the net amount of duties collected in the same States, on goods, wares, and merchandise, was: —

Pennsylvania	$472,756
New York	446,646
Massachusetts	320,430

— *Independent Chronicle*, Jan. 27, 1791.

[2] "Captain Magee carried out the frame of a vessel, with three or four carpenters, and set up the little craft of about thirty tons, under Captain Swift, then the chief carpenter; and the schooner collected some twelve or fifteen hundred sea-otters during the season, which added

In 1792 Mr. Perkins entered into partnership with his elder brother James, who had been in business in the West Indies, under the firm name of J. & T. H. Perkins, and from that time forward the brothers prosecuted the trade with the Northwest Coast and China, as well as with other parts of the world, with the utmost vigor.[1]

While the enterprise of the business men of Boston was thus pushing toward every port open to them across the seas and beyond the capes, it sought also to increase its facilities for communication with places in the interior of the State and with the adjacent States. Nearly one hundred years previously it had been proposed to cut a canal across Cape Cod, to connect the waters of Buzzard's Bay on the southwest with those of Barnstable Bay on the northeast.[2] In the autumn of 1790 this project was renewed, and an elaborate report was presented, showing its feasibility. On the 12th of May, 1791, the arrival at Springfield is mentioned of "Captain John Hills,[3] employed by General Knox, secretary at war, to explore the country from Springfield to Charles River, and make accurate survey thereof with a view to ascertain whether an inland navigation would be practicable." The Bridgewater canal, and that between the Forth and the Clyde, had been opened, and similar works were in progress in France. Travellers who had explored China had brought home accounts of canals in that country a thousand miles in length, connecting Canton in the south and Pekin in the north, "with their ten thousand vessels kept at the public expense;" and it was said that by means of these canals the country was rendered "the most fertile and pleasant in the world." In 1793 the Middlesex Canal Company was incorporated, and the work was completed

much to the profit of the voyage, as the skins were worth thirty or forty dollars when Captain Magee reached China." — *Memoir of Thomas H. Perkins*, pp. 43–44.

In a sketch of the life of Ralph Haskins, recently published, we find some interesting particulars concerning the Northwest Coast trade. In the year 1800, Mr. Haskins went out as supercargo in the "Atahualpa," Captain Dixey Wildes, owned by Messrs. Theodore Lyman, Kirk Boott, and William Pratt. The ship was of two hundred and nine tons, mounted eight guns, and was loaded with an assorted cargo consisting of broadcloth, flannel, blankets, powder, muskets, watches, tools, beads, wire, looking-glasses, and other articles. In a letter to Mr. Lyman, Mr. Haskins said: "The navigation here is more hazardous and the business worse than I expected, especially the inland navigation. Sunken rocks, strong tides, fogs, calms, no bottom for anchoring, and a large proportion of bad weather are among the difficulties we are obliged to combat." — *Mem. Biog. New Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc.* i. 468–469.

From June 11, 1800, to January 9, 1803, 34,357 sea-otter skins were imported into China, worth on the average from $18 to $20 each. Of this quantity 30,407 were brought in Boston vessels. During the same period 1,048,750 seal skins were imported, worth from 80 to 90 cents each. Of the total number of vessels, — 80 ships and 9 brigs and schooners, — 27 ships and 5 brigs belonged to Boston. Pitkin's *Com. of the U. S.; Appendix*, pp. v–vii.

[1] In later years, when the sons of the original partners, and Mr. Samuel Cabot, a son-in-law, were taken into the business, the firm was James & T. H. Perkins & Sons. Later still, it was Perkins & Co.

[2] "By the annals of Prince, it appears that for now about an hundred years it has been meditated to cut off the Cape, or the whole county of Barnstable, by means of a canal through the town of Sandwich." — *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 16, 1790.

At the time of writing this chapter, the Cape Cod ship-canal is still only a project. The last company incorporated for its construction received its charter from the Massachusetts Legislature of 1880.

[3] Captain John Hills, of Philadelphia. He is spoken of as a very skilful surveyor.

and opened ten years later.[1] Turnpike roads also were built in different directions.

The coastwise shipping trade was very valuable in itself, and it was an important feeder to the European and East India commerce of the port. During the month of October, 1791, there were two hundred and eighty-seven entries coastwise, from different parts of the Union, and ninety clearances for the same.[2]

Boston must, at this time, have presented an animated and attractive appearance. We are told, in a descriptive sketch written in 1794: —

"There are eighty wharves and quays, chiefly on the east side of the town. Of these the most distinguished is Boston Pier, or the Long Wharf, which extends from the bottom of State Street one thousand seven hundred and forty-three feet into the harbor. . . . Here the principal navigation of the town is carried on; vessels of all burdens load and unload; and the London ships generally discharge their cargoes. It is the general resort of all the inhabitants, and is more frequented, we think, than any other part of the town."

The same writer says: —

"The harbour of Boston is at this date (November, 1794) crowded with vessels. Eighty-four sail have been counted, lying at two of the wharves only. It is reckoned that not less than four hundred and fifty sail of ships, brigs, schooners, sloops, and small craft are now in this port." [3]

The foreign commerce of those days required not only large capital for its successful prosecution, but general ability of a high order. Comprehensive and authentic information, shrewd and sound judgment, and bold enterprise had to be brought together in combination when voyages were planned which were to compass the globe, and which were to be prolonged during two or three years. All the requisite qualities to this end the merchants of Boston possessed; but as time went on and their operations multiplied and extended, serious complications arose, for which neither they nor their country could be held responsible; and difficulties and dangers presented themselves which no foresight could have antici-

[1] [See Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. —Ed.]

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 10, 1791. The total amount of duties collected at all the ports of the United States in the year ended Sept. 30, 1791, was $3,006,722. The collections in five States were as follows: —

Pennsylvania, $707,955; New York, $619,534; Massachusetts, $420,707; Virginia, $334,995; Maryland, $322,964. — *Independent Chronicle*, May 3, 1792.

The total exports from the United States in the year ended Sept. 30, 1792, were $20,518,014. For the same States as above, the exports were: —

Pennsylvania, $3,820,646; Virginia, $3,549,499; Massachusetts, $3,389,922; Maryland, $2,550,258; New York, $2,528,085. — *Columbian Centinel*, July 20, 1793.

Among the exports from Boston in 1792 were 50,000 barrels beef and pork, of which 20,000 barrels, at least, were packed here. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* iii. (1794) 287–288.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. (1794) 248, 287. The same writer (Mr. Pemberton) gives the foreign entries and clearances at the port during the year 1793, as follows: —

	Entries	*Clearances*
The West Indies	187	119
Great Britain	28	11
Other ports	161	162
	376	292

— Ibid. p. 288.

pated, and no prudence averted. In the long wars between Great Britain and France, which seemed to keep the whole world in a turmoil, the commerce of neutrals suffered almost if not quite as severely as that of the belligerents; and American merchants and shipmasters found themselves constantly and almost hopelessly involved, to their very great loss.[1]

The Government and the more enlightened portion of the community desired and honestly sought to maintain a strict neutrality as between the combatants. At a meeting of merchants and traders held in Faneuil Hall July 22, 1793, the Hon. Thomas Russell presiding, a committee consisting of Thomas Russell, Stephen Higginson, John Coffin Jones, Nathaniel Fellows, Samuel Brown, Charles Jarvis, and Eben Parsons reported a series of resolutions, which were adopted by a unanimous vote, sustaining the proclamation of President Washington in favor of neutrality, and protesting against the fitting out of armed vessels or privateers by American citizens. The sentiment of the meeting was this: the preservation of neutrality is important to the interest and honor of this country.

There was an existing treaty between the United States and France, by which "free bottoms were declared to make free ships;" but this principle was not recognized by the French men-of-war in their interference with American commerce. The *Columbian Centinel* of Sept. 11, 1793, says: "The prizes taken by the Marseilles privateer, now in this port, are seven in number, besides the ship 'President,' of Baltimore;" and, in reference to this vessel, it is added: "She is an American built and registered vessel, owned by Americans, sailing under American colors, had American property on board, and has been a constant trader between Maryland and Great Britain. The pretence for her capture was that she had English property on board, which, if every article had been, would not warrant the outrage." On the other hand the British vessels of war captured a large number of American ships with their cargoes, for their alleged violation of the paper blockade of the French ports, and on the suspicion that French property was covered by the American flag; and this suspicion extended to all vessels bound to or from a French port. The decisions of the prize-courts were often arbitrary and flagrantly unjust; and the demeanor of the naval officers was in many instances overbearing and insulting. Much hardship and serious disaster ensued, and excitement and indignation prevailed in every shipping community along the coast. The history of this period of decrees, orders in council, and non-intercourse will be told elsewhere in these volumes,[2] and cannot be detailed here.

At a meeting of the merchants of Boston held Sept. 12, 1793, a com-

[1] Mr. John Bromfield, writing to his mother from London, April 18, 1808, said: "My fears of a bad voyage are completely realized. I have been obliged to land my cargo, and make a ruinous voyage for the gentlemen who were good enough to give me employ. My own loss will be total of all that I have earned during my past life. The decrees of France and England are ruinous to American commerce, which is a whip-top, scourged by both parties. Though a neutral, it is attacked by all the belligerents."—*Lives of American Merchants*, ii. 472.

[2] [See Vol. III., Mr. H. C. Lodge's chapter. — ED.]

mittee was appointed, consisting of Thomas Russell, Stephen Higginson, John Coffin Jones, Caleb Davis, and David Sears, to receive and transmit to the President "authenticated evidence of injuries done to our commerce by the armed vessels of any belligerent power." Soon after this, President Washington sent Mr. John Jay on a special mission to England, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty which should set at rest the vexatious questions in dispute; but so strong and bitter was the political feeling then prevailing, that the treaty which Mr. Jay was able to arrange was condemned in this country before its terms had been made known. It was assumed that a weak surrender had been made to the pretensions of England, and serious riots took place among the lower classes in many of the towns, Liberty Square in Boston being one of the scenes of disturbance. It is to the credit of the merchants that they took a more calm and dispassionate view of the condition of affairs. A meeting had been held in the town, at which resolutions were passed condemning the treaty as injurious to the commercial interests of the United States and derogatory to the national honor and independence. The Chamber of Commerce, on the contrary, passed a vote expressing its acquiescence in the terms of the treaty, and addressed a memorial to that effect to the President, who, in his reply thereto, expressed "his satisfaction to learn that the commercial part of his fellow-citizens, whose interests were thought to be most deeply affected, so generally considered the treaty as calculated upon the whole to procure important advantages to the country." [1]

The rulers of France, jealous of the commercial relations existing between the United States and Great Britain, seemed determined to force the two nations into war with each other, if this could possibly be brought to pass. They issued a decree (Jan. 18, 1798) forbidding the entrance into any French port of any vessel which at any previous part of her voyage had touched at an English possession, and declaring good prize all vessels having merchandise on board, the production or manufacture of England or her colonies, whoever the owners of the merchandise might be. This was regarded as being little short of a declaration of war, and authority was given to the American navy to seize vessels under the French flag which had committed encroachments upon American commerce; commercial intercourse between France and the United States was suspended; treaties were declared to be no longer binding upon the latter; and letters of marque and reprisal were authorized.[2]

But notwithstanding the perplexities and perils thus superadded to the ordinary risks of ocean commerce, the merchants of Boston, Salem, and other communities went forward in the prosecution of their plans with all

[1] Barry's *Hist. of Mass.*, iii. 332, 333. The New York Chamber of Commerce concurred with the Boston chamber in its estimate of Mr. Jay's treaty. [See the *Life of John Warren*, ch. xxii., and Mr. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. and references there — ED.]

[2] John S. Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 352, 353. "History will record the fact that France has been willing to see us independent of Britain, but not independent of herself." — George Cabot, in the *Columbian Centinel*, May 31, 1797.

their accustomed energy and spirit. Captain Cleveland in his journals mentions four Boston ships met by him on the Northwest Coast in the spring of 1799, and says that ten others were to be despatched thither from Boston during that season; and while at Calcutta, in the following winter, he records: "During the three months of my residence in Calcutta, no less than twelve ships were laden with the produce and manufactures of Hindostan for the United States, whose cargoes would average about two hundred thousand dollars each."[1]

In 1798 the Messrs. Perkins bought and sent to Canton direct the "Thomas Russell;" and Mr. Ephraim Bumstead, then the oldest apprentice in their counting-house, went out as supercargo. In 1803 they made an arrangement with this young man to go to China and establish himself there for the transaction of their own business and such other as might offer. Mr. Bumstead took passage in a ship from Providence, belonging partly to merchants there and partly to the Messrs. Perkins, and had as his clerk a nephew of theirs, John P. Cushing, who had also been in their employ. Soon after his arrival in China Mr. Bumstead became very ill and embarked on a voyage for the benefit of his health, expecting to return before long; but he died at sea, and Mr. Cushing, at the early age of sixteen, found himself in sole charge, with many consignments to care for and important concerns to manage. He had "a good head," and he conducted affairs with so much ability that he was soon after taken into the firm, remaining in it until its dissolution. He visited the United States in 1807, but soon returned to China, and did not leave it until twenty years after that time. "He was well repaid for his undertaking by the result."[2]

Mr. Cushing was succeeded in the management of the Canton house by Mr. Thomas T. Forbes, another nephew of the Perkins's, and a young man of much promise, who was lost soon after in the Canton River with his yacht "Haidee." Mr. Cushing was in Europe when the news of this calamity came to hand, and immediately returned to China to protect the interests of his firm. He and Mr. Forbes had been on intimate terms with the firm of Russell & Co., of which Mr. Samuel Russell was then at the head. It was now arranged to reorganize this house, and to transfer the business of Perkins & Co. to it. Mr. Augustine Heard was admitted as a partner, and Mr. Forbes's youngest brother John, then sixteen years of age, as a clerk. Mr. John M. Forbes subsequently became a partner, and, later, his older brother, Captain Robert Bennet Forbes, who was the head of the house for several years. Mr. Russell Sturgis, now of Baring Brothers & Co., was admitted to the firm in 1842. Mr. Paul S. Forbes, cousin of the three brothers just mentioned, Mr. W. Delano, Mr. John C. Green, and Mr. A. A. Low, were also members of this eminent firm.[3]

[1] Cleveland's *Voyages*, i. 74, 112. The four ships referred to were the "Eliza," Rowan; "Hancock," Crocker; "Despatch," Breck; and "Ulysses," Lamb.

[2] *Memoir of Thomas H. Perkins*, pp. 207, 208.

[3] In 1816, Captain Forbes entered the counting-house of S. Cabot and James and Thomas

Another youth, who was afterward to become a most intelligent and successful merchant, graduated from the counting-house of the Messrs. Perkins in the early years of their business, and went to sea in one of their ships. This was William Sturgis, who had been with them for a few months only, when it became necessary for him, on the death of his father, to push his fortunes for himself (1798); and he shipped before the mast in the "Eliza," 136 tons, then fitting out for a voyage to the Northwest Coast, San Blas on the western coast of Mexico, and China. The vessel was under the command of Captain James Rowan, who had made several voyages in the same trade, and had been very successful in his intercourse with the Indians. On reaching the coast Captain Rowan advanced young Sturgis to be his assistant in the trading department; [1] and the latter displayed so much industry, ability, and tact in his new position, and had improved himself so much in the study of navigation that he attracted the attention of other ship-masters, and was called from the forecastle of the "Eliza" to be chief mate of the "Ulysses," the officers and crew of which vessel were in revolt against their captain. He proceeded in her to China, where he met the "Eliza," and, by consent of all parties, rejoined her as third mate. On his return to Boston in the spring of 1800 he was engaged as first mate and assistant trader on board the "Caroline," owned by James and Thomas Lamb and others, and fitting out for a three years' voyage to the Pacific and China, under Captain Charles Derby of Salem. The ship touched at the Sandwich Islands on the way out, and Captain Derby died there; whereupon Mr. Sturgis, then nineteen years of age, became commander of the vessel and sole manager of her business. He came back to Boston in 1803, having made the voyage "to the great satisfaction and profit of his employers." He made another voyage, terminating in June, 1806. In the autumn of the same year he started on his fourth voyage round the world in the "Atahualpa," belonging to Theodore Lyman and others, with supervision over two other vessels, belonging to the same owners, already on the Coast. Returning in June, 1808, he sailed in the same ship for Canton direct, with an outfit exceeding three hundred thousand Spanish milled dollars; and accompanied by Mr. John Bromfield, who had an interest in the adventure and a share in the responsibility.[2] It was

H. Perkins, Jr., being twelve years of age, and in 1817 he shipped before the mast in a ship belonging to his uncles, the "Canton Packet." In 1824 they gave him the command of their favorite ship the "Levant;" and afterward he commanded the "Nile," the "Danube," and the "Lintin."

[1] Of this voyage the Messrs. Perkins wrote to Mr. Samuel G. Perkins, then in London, under date of Nov. 9, 1799, as follows: —

"We wrote you the 'Eliza' had succeeded on the Northwest, and had proceeded to China; that is, she was about leaving the coast for China. We presume from the letters, which are dated off St. Blas, that she would dispose of her dry-goods for about one hundred per cent advance. The collection of skins exceeded that of Magee in the 'Margaret,' or Swift in the 'Hazard,' although they were two years, and the 'Eliza' ninety days."

[2] John Bromfield was born in Newburyport, April 11, 1779, and was brought up in the counting-houses of Larkin & Hurd, Charlestown, and Soley & Stearns, Boston. After making two trading voyages to Europe, he sailed in the "Atahualpa" as supercargo, with Captain Sturgis, being under engagement to remain a year in Canton as Mr. Lyman's factor. He subsequently went into business for himself, and was very successful. Many of his ventures were with his

on this voyage that he had a desperate encounter with pirates in the mouth of the Canton River. He reached Boston again in 1810, and then joined Mr. John Bryant in business under the firm name of Bryant & Sturgis. Their business was principally with places on the Pacific and with China, and "from the year 1810 to 1840 more than half of the trade carried on with those countries, from the United States, was under their direction. They occasionally, however, had commercial intercourse with nearly every quarter of the globe." [1]

The "Thomas Russell" was despatched in May, 1800, under command of Captain Henry Jackson, to Malaga and ports in the Mediterranean, loaded with teas and nankeens, "the ultimate object of the voyage being the purchase of a cargo in Calcutta, and the speedy conversion of the present lading into dollars to be the governing object in the operations." [2]

Passing on to the year 1807, we come to the English Orders in Council, the Milan decrees of Napoleon, and the non-intercourse policy of President Jefferson. All the industrial interests of Massachusetts, including the agricultural, were seriously checked by the embargo laws, and the days of the Boston Port Bill seemed to have come back again. Ship-building was suspended, and the fisheries were abandoned. "The transfer of flour and grain from the Southern States to the northern and eastern ports was interdicted; and when this was found to be very injurious, the President proposed to grant license to such individuals to transport flour for the necessary consumption of the people, as Governor Sullivan should select or designate. Great complaints were made against this measure as partial and unjust. A petition was preferred to Congress at this time for liberty to send fish to foreign markets as had formerly been done, and when there were large quantities on hand exposed to decay in a short time; but the request was not granted, nor was any sympathy expressed for the petitioners." [3] Commissioners were sent to England, and a treaty was negotiated by them; but this was so unsatisfactory to the President that he declined to submit it to the Senate. At this time the encounter took place between the "Leopard" and the "Chesapeake," near the Capes of Virginia, and the historian says: "The country had never been in such a state since the battle of Lexington." [4] In 1809 there was a temporary relaxation of hostilities, and a thousand vessels were cleared for foreign ports. The Embargo Act was modified, so far as related to provisions and the exclusion of foreign armed vessels, but the

friends Bryant & Sturgis, and Henry Lee. He died Dec. 9, 1849. [See Hunt's *American Merchants*. — Ed.]

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1863, 1864, p. 433.

[2] In 1794, Pemberton writes: "Our trade to the Mediterranean is at present interrupted by the Barbary corsairs." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iii. (1794), p. 286.

[3] Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 372. The registered tonnage of the United States engaged in the foreign trade in 1807 was 848,306. Of this, 310,309 tons, or more than one third of the whole, were owned in Massachusetts. Mr. Cabot wrote to Colonel Pickering, in reference to the non-importation law of 1807: "Our trade with France was comparatively small, and restrictions as to that nation were not so injurious. With reference to England the case was different. Of all the surplus products of the United States, that country bought annually one half, and of all our foreign purchases she supplied two thirds."

[4] John S. Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 363.

restrictions upon importations were continued, with a proviso empowering the President to legalize trade with Great Britain by proclamation. In 1810 the Federal Government found itself compelled to relax still further the rigor of its non-intercourse policy; but many intelligent men were coming to see that war with Great Britain was inevitable. In 1812 the declaration of war was made, in opposition, undoubtedly, to the feelings of a majority of the people of this Commonwealth. They were engaged principally in commercial pursuits; "their spirit of thrift was greater than their thirst for military renown; and they were inclined to peace, not from cowardice nor from a willingness to sacrifice the interests of their country, but from a profound conviction that peace was the policy of the nation, and would subserve its interests better than war." [1]

Great suffering followed. A vast amount of capital, and a large number of vessels and seamen were thrown out of employ; the prices of imported articles rose enormously; the produce of the country was held at high rates; work was scarce; money also was scarce, and it was difficult to supply family wants.[2] Mr. Nathaniel Silsbee, in his autobiography,[3] says: —

"On the 18th day of June, 1812, after an embargo of sixty days, the Government of the United States declared war against England, which had a most depressing effect upon the commercial interests of the country; the vessels that were at home were generally dismantled and hauled up, except such as were suitable for privateers; and although a much larger portion of vessels and property which happened to be abroad at the commencement of the war escaped capture than was expected, yet a number of these vessels and a considerable amount of property fell into the hands of the enemy, and caused large losses to the commercial part of the community."

Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, writing of these times in his journals, says: —

"Embargoes and non-intercourse, with political and other causes of embarrassment, crossed our path; but we kept our trade with China, and during the war of the Peninsula embarked largely in the shipment of provisions to Spain and Portugal. Our general plan was to freight vessels, load them with flour at the South for Europe, and have the funds remitted to London. To make some necessary arrangements respecting them, I took passage in the brig 'Reaper,' belonging to my friend Henry Lee, for London, in August, 1811. The intention of Mr. Lee was to proceed to India in the brig, taking funds from England, and returning to Boston with Calcutta cloths, which then paid a great advance. I sent funds in her, and she returned in the year 1812, during the war with Great Britain, and with great profit. Long-cloths of India then brought twenty-five cents a yard, though an inferior article to what is now made at six cents, being less than one fourth of the price the India cloths then sold at. I remained in London during the year, or until the summer, and returned after war had been declared. While in London I bought, with the elder Mr. Higginson, goods brought into England for France, which resulted in great gain."

In December, 1813, Congress passed a further restrictive measure, which added to the suffering already existing and increased the complaints of the

[1] Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 387. [2] Ibid., p. 392. [3] See *Note*, pp. 206, 207.

people. It was so severe as to interdict the coasting trade between ports in the same State and the fishing business in small craft near the coast. The fishermen of Boston, who were thus deprived of the means of obtaining their daily bread, petitioned the General Court for relief.

The following extracts from the correspondence of the Messrs. Perkins will serve to throw light on the commercial history of the period now under review: —

"To Messrs. Perkins & Co., Canton.

"January 1, 1814.

"You say a cargo laid in at Canton would bring three for one in South America, and your copper would give two prices back. Thus, $30,000 laid out in China would give you $90,000 in South America, one half of which laid out in copper would give one hundred per cent, or $90,000, — making $135,000 for $30,000; 60,000 lbs. of indigo, even at 80 cts., $48,000; 120 tons of sugar at $60, $7,200; and cotton, or some other light freight, say skin tea, $20,000, — in all $75,000, — would be worth here $400,000, and not employ the profits of the voyage to South America. Manilla sugar is worth $400 to $500 per ton, clear of duty. The ship should be flying light, her bottom in good order, the greatest vigilance used on the passage, and make any port north of New York."

"January 6, 1814.

"Teas have risen to enormous prices, but are now declining. . . . Teas will rise with you immediately after a knowledge of peace takes place. Many voyages will be undertaken after the war, and the country will be again flooded with teas."

"July 15, 1814.

"A messenger has recently arrived in this country, offering in the name of the Prince Regent propositions for concluding a peace between this country and Great Britain. . . . A final settlement, such as will enable us to navigate in safety, may be protracted, by the diplomatic habits of our Government, to the ensuing autumn. It may be concluded sooner. All will depend upon the complete prostration of Buonaparte. God grant that this obstacle may not long intervene! How far we shall, in time of peace, be permitted to pursue our former commerce, is a question difficult to decide. Great Britain has neither affection nor respect for us. Her interest will guide in relation to her future stipulations. When she can, consistently with her own rights, restrict us, she will naturally do so."

"November 17, 1814.

"We hear that the 'Jacob Jones' went safely into Canton, and presume she may be despatched before the river is blockaded. In such case, she ought to be here at the time appointed, unless captured. Our coast is closely invested, and the hazard of getting in very imminent.[1] Some insurance has been done on her, owing to her being

[1] The risks were great, and so were the possible profits. A son of Colonel Perkins sailed for China during the war "in a private armed ship that was prepared to fight her way for a rich cargo," and this she did literally and successfully. The ship "Sally" arrived in the bay without knowing of the war. Two British frigates were off the harbor; she received advice from a fishing boat, and ran into Plymouth. Her cargo was brought by land to Boston. The arrival of the schooner "Russell" at New Bedford, ninety-two days from Canton, is reported in the *Columbian Centinel*, April 5, 1815, and it is said: "Information had been received at

a war-built vessel and having the reputation of being a swift sailer, at fifty per cent, but very little can be had. We have only $8,000 written at present, and fear we shall not be able to effect more by safe men, even at that. Vessels built before the war cannot be insured at seventy-five per cent, which premium has been given on prizes taken near this coast and ordered in. Owing to the decline of public credit consequent on a continuance of the war, and the many failures which have taken place, it is extremely difficult to effect sales of any sort except for immediate consumption, and those are made only for cash, no one being inclined to sell on credit at this critical juncture. . . . Public funds here (six per cent) are down to sixty-five, and growing worse. Nothing but peace can prevent an utter downfall of governmental credit and means. We have no expectation that the duties will be reduced for several years, if at all.[1] Keep the 'Levant' safe in port till you hear of peace. Then she may do well with black teas for European markets." [2]

There had been a wide divergence of opinion in the country on the questions of declaring and continuing the war; but there was no difference in the spirit with which the news of peace was welcomed by the people of both parties and of all classes. Mr. Silsbee says: "The news was received with demonstrations of universal joy in every part of the country." Colonel Perkins was in Washington with two other commissioners from Massachusetts, and he wrote from that city, Feb. 16, 1815, to Mr. John P. Cushing: "The joyful event of peace has suspended the mission on which I came. You will hear with delight of this event. No sacrifice is made of territory or commercial rights. It is a treaty formed on the basis of that of 1783. . . . I trust I shall never see another war."

We can almost hear the hum of the reviving industries as we read the announcements which now appeared in the papers of the day: —

February 18. "The lights in the light-houses off this harbor and Cape Ann have recommenced by order of Government. The moderate weather, which we hope is now commencing, will raise the ice blockade of this and other harbors, and permit the numerous vessels now preparing for sea to spread their white canvas to the gale."

"Since the arrival of the peace news, the vessels in this port have been actively preparing for sea."

"The first effects of peace have been seen in the rapid declension in the price of foreign goods, West India produce, etc. In New York, sugars have fallen 100 % (*sic*), teas from 75 to 100 %."

March 11. "Many gallant vessels have left port on voyages, and others are in stages of readiness. The beautiful ships 'Liverpool Packet' and 'Milo' will un-

Canton from Columbia River of the capture of ship 'Charon,' Whittemore, of Boston, with her cargo of furs, and ship 'Isabella,' Davis, of Boston, particulars not known. All the American vessels on the Northwest Coast were considered as lost or in danger of capture. The establishment at Columbia River had been broken up."

Captain Black, of the British sloop of war "Raccoon," took formal possession of Astoria in the name of the King, Dec. 12, 1813. The ships "Jacob Jones" and "Levant" are reported as being at Canton, Dec. 26, 1814; and the ships "Levant" and "New Packet," and the brig "Brutus," — all of Boston, — Feb. 27, 1815.

[1] The duties on all merchandise were doubled on the breaking out of the war. Hyson teas paid sixty-four cents a pound; Young Hyson skin, forty cents; Souchong and Congo, twenty-four cents.

[2] *Memoir of Thomas H. Perkins*, pp. 298–300.

loose their sails to-morrow, if the wind will permit. The elegant new ship 'Galen' will sail for London in all the month. Vessels which now sail for any European ports cannot run into danger." [1]

Mr. Abbott Lawrence was one of the passengers in the "Milo" for Liverpool. He managed to ship his first English purchases by her on her return trip, and they reached Boston and were sold within ninety days from the time of his departure.[2]

Of the many other Boston merchants of this period of returning prosperity, worthy then, and not forgotten now, the shipping record[3] of the

[1] *Columbian Centinel.*

[2] Mr. Amos Lawrence began business in Boston in December, 1807. His brother Abbott came here in 1808; and the firm of A. & A. Lawrence was formed Jan. 1, 1815. The first set of books by double entry in Boston was opened in their counting-house in 1816 or 1817. They occupied for many years a store in what is now known as Cornhill, but which was called Market Street when it was laid out in 1817, until the year 1828. They then moved to 11 Liberty Square, and later to Milk Street, on the corner of Bath Street, — a locality which was obliterated by the changes which followed the fire of 1872.

Bath Street was first called Tanner's Lane, and afterward (until 1807) Horn Lane, because of its crookedness. Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*, pp. 811, 813, 817.

[A Lawrence tabular pedigree, by H. G. Somerby, was printed in 1856; also in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1856, in connection with a memoir of Abbott Lawrence; and *The Genealogy of the Family of John Lawrence*, Boston, 1857, and third edition, 1869, also covers the ancestry of the well known Boston merchants of this name. Their lives are also traced in Hunt's *American Merchants*. — ED.]

[3] The new and superior ship "Canton," B. P. Tilden, supercargo, was advertised for Canton by Benjamin Rich, 75 Long Wharf, to have immediate despatch. The ship "Hope," Captain Bachelder, sailed for Calcutta April 1, 1815. On the fourth of the same month the ship "Flor de Brazil," Silva, from Pernambuco, *via* Bermuda, arrived with a cargo of molasses and sugar, consigned to Ropes, Pickman, & Co.; and a few days later the brig "New Hazard," Endicott, came in from Matanzas, with thirty-eight thousand gallons of molasses to the same firm. The name of this brig is suggestive of the perils from which our commerce had just escaped; so is that of the schooner "Catch-me-if-you-can," which arrived at the same time from Baltimore, with a cargo of flour consigned to Hall & Thacher. (*Columbian Centinel*, April 8, 1815.) The first arrival from Liverpool after the peace was reported May 3, — the British ship "Kingston," Captain Smith, with "dry-goods, crates, hardware, pig-iron, and lead, to David Hinckley, Giles Lodge, Daniel Hastings, and others."

"This day (Monday, May 3d) arrived and fired salutes the fine letter-of-marque brig 'Rambler,' Captain Edes, and ship 'Jacob Jones,' Captain Robarts, both in 108 days from Canton, with rich cargoes of silk, teas, and other articles, to the Messrs. Perkins, Bryant & Sturgis, Mr. B. Rich, etc. They escaped dashingly the British blockading squadron, consisting of the 'Grampus,' 50, and 'Owen Glendower,' who had long been watching for them." (*Columbian Centinel*, May 10, 1815.) Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., and Mr. Edes came passengers in the "Jacob Jones." The cargo of the "Rambler" consisted of Canton crapes, sewing-silk, black-fringed handkerchiefs, dimities, sarcenets, ribbons, pongees, teas, cassia, and six thousand walking-sticks.

A few days later the letter-of-marque schooner "Tamaahmaah," Captain Porter, arrived from the Northwest Coast, September, 1813, and one hundred and fifteen days from Canton, with a full cargo of teas, nankeens, cassia, alum, etc. She had sailed from Boston in the month of February, 1813, with supplies for various vessels on the coast, and to give them information of the war. These Canton cargoes were sold at auction immediately on their arrival, in accordance with the custom of the trade.

On the 17th of May fifty-three vessels arrived "coastwise," with large quantities of flour, tobacco, hemp, molasses, whiskey, rice, oil, tar, coal, sugar, corn, gin, candles, grindstones, turpentine, plaster, oysters, etc., consigned to numerous merchants. May 19, arrived Swedish ship "Mercurius," forty-eight days from Liverpool, with dry-goods, hardware, tin-plates, coals, crates, etc.; also the Russian ship "Alexander," fifty-one days from Lisbon, with salt, bar-iron, duck, and corkwood. May 27, arrived the British brig "Speedy," fifty-six days from Liverpool, with dry-goods, hardware, shot, iron, crockery-ware, to Andrew Elliot, C. R. Codman, Trott & Bumstead, O. Everett, Lewis Tappan & Co., J. Sewall, J. Carter, S. G. Perkins, H. Higgin-

Centinel makes frequent mention; but space is wanting here to enlarge upon their careers.

Soon after the war the export trade in ice was started and carried forward under the enterprise of Mr. Frederic Tudor. In the winter of 1805–6 Mr. Tudor had taken a cargo to Martinique, and although the venture had

son, John Tappan, F. Cabot, S. Torrey & Son, B. & C. Adams, K. Boott & Son, Rice & Read, T. Cordis. The ship "Milo," Glover, arrived from Liverpool June 3. The passengers by the "Milo" were "James Creighton, Esq. of New York, Bearer of Despatches to the Government from our late Commissioners at Ghent;" also, Gustavus Tuckerman, Joseph B. Henshaw, Ralph B. Forbes, and others. The "Liverpool Packet," Nichols, and "Roscoe," Amory, arrived on the fifth, with assorted cargoes to a large number of consignees. Among those who advertised dry-goods received by these vessels were Tuckerman, Rogers & Cushing, Benjamin C. Ward & Co., John Grew, Lane & Lamson, Henry Gassett & Co., Isaac Osgood, Phineas Foster, James Read. Those who advertised hardware were J. & E. Phillips, Samuel May, Charles Scudder, John Bradford, Fairbanks & Burbeck. June 7, arrived schooner "Union," of Beverly, forty-four days from Lisbon, with lemons, salt, duck, etc., to Ray & Gray; and the British schooner "Matchless," fifty-four days from London, with a cargo of cordage, duck, porter, iron, copperas, tin, steel, alum, crockery, paints, chalk, whiting, and thirty pianofortes.

The brig "Panther," Lewis, cleared for Liverpool and the northwest coast of America June 8. "The fine new ship 'Union,' of six hundred and nineteen tons, belonging to the Hon. Mr. Gray, sailed from the outer roads on Monday last (June 5th), for Calcutta." Mr. William Gray had moved to Boston from Salem in 1809. [See his portrait in the chapter on "Finance." — Ed.]

July 13, arrived ship "Hannibal," Burgess, fifty-five days from Liverpool, with an assorted cargo; she brought about two thousand letters. On the same day, ship "Beverly," Edes, was cleared for Canton. July 20, arrived brig "Mary," from Gottenburg, with iron, steel, block-tin, hones, slates, pencils, brass and card wire, pins, camphor, copperas, flats for hats, and dry-goods, to Walley & Foster, T. Williams, E. & J. Breed, and Beckford & Bates. The junior member of this last firm was Joshua Bates, who went to Europe in 1816, as Mr. Gray's agent, and afterward became a member of the firm of Baring Brothers & Co., London. From a brief outline by Mr. Bates of his earlier history, drawn off by years, we make the following extract: 1803 to 1812, with William Rufus Gray, in Boston and Charlestown; 1813 to 1815, Beckford & Bates; 1816 to 1819, William Gray's agent in Europe; 1828, joined Baring Brothers & Co. [See the chapter on "Libraries." — Ed.]

Cleared, August 21, ship "Jacob Jones," Oxnard, for Canton; and 23d, ship "Sultan," Reynolds, for the Northwest Coast and Canton; the latter by Boardman & Pope. Arrived, August 25, ship "John Adams," Downing, forty-three days from Liverpool, with assorted cargo, to Walley & Foster, owners, and others; September 7, ship "New Packet," Bacon, from Canton, with teas and cassia to Ropes, Pickman, & Co.

Among the prominent business men of the day, besides those whose names have been already mentioned, were Samuel Parkman, Robert G. Shaw, John Parker & Sons, Israel Thorndike, Thomas C. Amory & Co., Thomas Wigglesworth, Isaac Winslow, James Ingersoll, Josiah Bradlee, and Cornelius Coolidge & Co. The leading auctioneers were Plimpton & Marett, Whitwell & Bond, T. K. Jones & Co., and Coolidge, Deblois, & Co. How nobly these men and their fellow-merchants had maintained, as a whole, their financial position and the credit of the town, during all the vicissitudes of the previous decade, is illustrated by the following paragraph which we find in the *Columbian Centinel*, July 12, 1815: —

"In many of the Southern prices-current, gold and silver and Boston bank-bills are quoted at the same prices, and from twelve to sixteen per cent above their own bank-paper."

Mr. Bromfield was proud of the financial position maintained by New England during the war with Great Britain from 1812 to 1815, at a time when all south and west of her borders failed to fulfil their engagements, and suffered dishonor; "but he was sadly troubled and deeply mortified at the course taken in 1837, when, in a time of profound peace and apparent prosperity, all the moneyed institutions in the country suspended payment, not as they alleged, but because they chose to consider it for the public good that they should violate their engagements and refuse to pay their debts." — *Lives of American Merchants*, ii. 478, 479.

The taxable valuation of Boston rose, between the years 1810 and 1820, from $18,500,000 to $38,000,000. In the period from 1800 to 1810 it had increased only from $15,000,000 to $18,500,000.

not been a pecuniary success, it had been demonstrated that this article could be carried to a warm climate. After the war the British Government offered him the monopoly, for a term of years, for Jamaica, upon certain conditions, which were readily acceded to; and further encouraged him by releasing all ships bringing ice from port charges. The first prominent and permanent establishment of ice-houses in the West Indies was at Kingston. Soon after the monopoly was secured for Havana, and liberal concessions were made for the introduction of ice into other ports in Cuba. The first cargo for Charleston was shipped in 1817, and ice-houses were established in Savannah in 1818, and in New Orleans in 1820.

In May, 1833, at the request of English and American merchants resident in Calcutta, Mr. Tudor sent a small cargo, about two hundred tons, to that port. "The result, like that of the first shipment to the West Indies, was not a pecuniary success; but it proved that ice brought twenty thousand miles could, with all the attendant waste and loss, successfully compete in prices with that prepared by the natives." The result was the establishment of a trade which steadily increased in volume and importance, and which, for many years, enabled Boston "to hold the key to the rich and extensive commerce between Calcutta and the United States."

A cargo was sent to Rio Janeiro in 1834. In 1842 Messrs. Gage, Hittinger, & Co. shipped a cargo to London in the bark "Sharon," but it was not a success; and subsequent attempts to introduce the American article into that market were not more fortunate. In 1855 twelve companies were engaged in the business in and about Boston; and the estimated value of the plant, including ponds, ice-houses, wharves, and tools, was $600,000. The quantity shipped to the East Indies in 1857 was ten or eleven thousand tons, and during the next two or three years it increased to twenty thousand. In 1867 it reached twenty-seven thousand tons, and then gradually fell away, until now the annual shipment has declined to one or two thousand tons. The total export of ice from Boston, foreign and coastwise, according to the Custom-House returns, was one hundred and forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-three tons in 1860, which was the highest point reached. In 1865 it was one hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and seventy-five; and in 1866, one hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty-one tons. Of late years it has been fifty or sixty thousand tons per annum.[1]

In this connection it will be appropriate to give some particulars about the Calcutta trade. We have seen that in the year 1800 twelve vessels were loaded at Calcutta in one season for the United States, with cargoes valued altogether at about $2,400,000. These cargoes consisted largely of cotton and silk manufactures. In 1840 twenty-one vessels arrived with Calcutta cargoes, amounting in quantity to seventeen thousand tons, and in value

[1] See *Reports of the Boston Board of Trade*; also an article on "Ice," by F. H. Forbes, in *Scribner's Monthly*, x. 462–470; and F. Tudor's letter on the "History of the Ice Trade," in the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, January, 1856.

(first cost and freight money) to $1,250,000. The tonnage had increased, but the value had been reduced by one half, owing to the change in the character of the goods imported. The trade steadily increased until, in 1857, one hundred and twenty-two ships were loaded at Calcutta for the United States, bringing one hundred and eighty-nine thousand two hundred and sixty-seven tons, valued at $17,000,000. The following table will show how Boston controlled this trade at the period of its greatest development[1]: —

Year.	Boston.		New York.	
1856	78 ships.	110,113 tons.	14 ships.	20,813 tons.
1857	96 „	147,131 „	22 „	37,055 „
1858	59 „	86,013 „	16 „	25,801 „
1859	81 „	141,825 „	14 „	26,234 „

From and after 1859 New York began to gain upon Boston; but it was not until 1867 that the tonnage imported at the former city actually exceeded that at the latter.[2]

The Russia trade of Boston deserves special mention. We find the arrival of a ship from Riga reported as early as Dec. 25, 1783. In the summer of 1784 Mr. Derby of Salem sent his barque, the "Light Horse," from that port to St. Petersburg, the first vessel to go there from New England. The ship "Thomas and Nancy" arrived at Boston from St. Petersburg Aug. 31, 1786; and the ship "Garrick" Nov. 15, 1787. Mr. George Cabot once said: "The hemp, iron, and duck brought from Russia have been to our fisheries and navigation like seed to a crop." But for many years the trade was carried on at a disadvantage. The same intelligent merchant, writing to Colonel Pickering in 1806, remarked: "In Russia we sell little or nothing, and buy to a great amount. We go there *dead-freighted*, and pay all in cash, or rather in bills on London, better to us than money, having cost us a considerable premium in Spain or elsewhere."[3]

After the War of 1812, American vessels began to go to Havana and Matanzas to load with sugar for Cronstadt, the port of St. Petersburg, and

[1] See *Reports to the Boston Board of Trade*, by J. R. Lee.

[2] Tonnage imported from Calcutta to both cities, from 1862 to 1867: —

	Boston.	*New York.*
1862	40,786	19,705
1863	31,416	22,142
1864	37,845	17,989
1865	29,213	13,711
1866	50,622	45,371
1867	74,094	85,073

We have an illustration of the changes which take place in trade in the course of time, in the history of the importation of gunny-bags and gunny-cloth. In 1840 the quantity was less than five thousand bales; in 1856 it was ninety thousand bales; in 1859, eighty-seven thousand; in 1860, eighty-eight thousand; and in 1867, eighty-six thousand. The importation has since almost entirely ceased.

[3] In the same letter, Mr. Cabot said that in the trade with Spain and the south of Europe American merchants were selling much more than they bought, and there was often a loss, because the ships had to come home *dead-freighted*. *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, p. 358.

to return with Russia cargoes to Boston and New York. Among the articles brought were hemp, bolt-rope, cordage, oakum or turned hemp, codilla, occasionally flax and flax-tow, junk both for oakum and paper, sail-cloth, ravensduck, diaper, crash, bar-iron, sheet-iron, feathers, down, horse-hair, hogs' hair, felt of cows' hair, occasionally red leather, cantharides, and China rhubarb. In 1829 Mr. William Ropes, previously of the firms of Ropes, Pickman, & Co., Ropes & Ward, and Ropes, Reed, & Co., made a voyage, by way of Havana, to Cronstadt, as supercargo in the ship "Courser," and was so favorably impressed with the prospect for business there, that after another voyage he removed, in 1832, with his family to St. Petersburg, and established the house of William Ropes & Co., which still continues. Mr. Ropes was the first to import cotton from the United States direct into Russia. Among other Boston merchants engaged in this trade were Curtis & Stevenson, Robert B. Storer, Josiah Bradlee, and John Dwyer. It was extensive and profitable for many years. Since the development of native industry in Russia, and the adoption of an extreme protective policy there as well as in the United States, the mutual trade between the two countries has been nearly destroyed. In 1857 twenty-three cargoes arrived from Russia at Boston, against eight at New York.

From 1820 to 1830 the trade of Boston, both foreign and domestic, grew and advanced steadily; and from 1830 to 1840 it prospered still more. This prosperity was only temporarily and slightly checked by the general disasters of 1837. During this latter period the taxable valuation increased fifty per cent;[1] and the arrivals of shipping from abroad were more than doubled, the ratio of increase being much greater in this particular than at New York or Philadelphia.[2] The railroads to Providence, Lowell, and Worcester were built, and the line from Worcester to the Hudson River was almost completed. But the succeeding decade was still more prosperous, and in its development was one of the most marked in the history of Boston. This was the result of the energy and public spirit with which its business men had pushed the work of railway construction, and of the opening of steam communication with Liverpool by the ships of the Cunard Company.

In 1838, after the successful passages of the "Sirius" and "Great Western" across the Atlantic and back again, the British Government advertised for tenders for the conveyance of the mails, by steam, between England and North America. Mr. Samuel Cunard of Halifax went to England,

[1] We give below the valuation of Boston in 1800, and in every tenth year since:—

1800	$15,095,700
1810	18,450,500
1820	38,289,200
1830	59,586,000
1840	94,581,600
1850	180,000,500
1860	276,861,000
1870	584,089,400
1880	639,089,200

These figures show that the valuation of Boston has doubled itself in three decades of the present century, — from 1810 to 1820; from 1840 to 1850; and from 1860 to 1870.

[2] Arrivals from foreign ports at the three cities:—

	New York.	*Boston.*	*Phila.*
1830	1,510	642	415
1840	1,953	1,628	538

— *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 6, 1844.

concluded a contract arrangement with the Government, and then put himself in the hands of Mr. Robert Napier, the great marine engineer, by whom he was introduced to the Messrs. Burns of Glasgow, and the Messrs. MacIver of Liverpool. These firms were running steamboat lines between the two cities, in active competition with each other. Mr. Cunard and they united forces, and what is known now as the Cunard Company was the result.[1] Four vessels were built, with as little delay as possible, each of twelve hundred tons gross register, and four hundred and forty horse power. A pioneer steamer, the "Unicorn," which was to be kept in reserve at Halifax, sailed from Liverpool May 18, 1840; and the "Britannia," the first of the regular line, on the 4th of July following. Boston had been selected as the American port of destination, and it continued to be so exclusively until 1848, when a service from New York was begun by the "Hibernia" sailing on the 1st of January of that year. These first vessels were paddle-wheel steamers, and as the engines then in use made it necessary to take large quantities of coal on board, there was little room for general cargo.[2]

Importers soon saw the advantage to be gained by bringing their English goods to this market by steam, and it was not long before the ships were used to the utmost of their limited capacity for cargo.[3]

When the line was started, the sailing days were the 4th and 19th of each month from Liverpool, and the 1st and 16th from Boston. During the winter season the departures were monthly; all the ships called at Halifax. The "Columbia" came out for the first time in January, 1841; the "Hibernia" in May, 1843; and the "Cambria" in January, 1845. In 1842 the February and March packets came only to Halifax, and the passengers and mails were brought to and taken from Boston in the "Unicorn."

[1] The company was a private one, and was called the British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company. In its organization there were what were called inside and outside partners. The former were Samuel Cunard of Halifax, afterward of London; George and James Burns of Glasgow; and David and Charles MacIver of Liverpool. They transacted all the business and received certain commissions, sharing the surplus profits with the outside partners, — Thomas Buchanan, Sir James Campbell, John James Kerr, Robert Napier, and others of Glasgow, and Henry and John Bannerman of Manchester, who supplied most of the capital.

[2] The amount of duties paid at the Custom House by the first arrivals is worth recording, for the sake of comparison with the figures to which we are now accustomed: —

Ships.	*Date of Entry.*	*Am't of Duty.*
Britannia	July 20	$ 91.58
Acadia	Aug. 18	29.38
Britannia	Sept. 18	274.78
Caledonia	Oct. 2	211.11
Acadia	Oct. 17	339.88
Britannia	Nov. 3	497.81
Caledonia	Nov. 20	380.65
Acadia	Dec. 22	1,103.80
	Total for 1840	$2,928.99

[3] The duties collected upon them during the succeeding five years were: —

1841	21 arrivals	$73,809.23
1842	18 "	120,974.67
1843	20 "	640,572.05
1844	20 "	916,198.30
1845	20 "	1,022,992.75

The average in 1845 was about fifty thousand dollars for each ship; but two steamers, the "Cambria," in January, and the "Hibernia," in February, brought cargoes, the duty collected on which was more than one hundred thousand dollars each. At the present time the duties collected on the cargo of a Cunard steamer amount to about fifty thousand dollars, the character of the goods being coarser and cheaper than those formerly brought by steam.

In July, 1843, the "Columbia" was lost on Seal Island. In January, 1844, an ice embargo, like that which aggravated the situation at the close of the war of 1812, gradually suspended all communication between the harbor and the bay; and after the arrival of the "Britannia," it looked as though there might be very serious delay in sending her to sea again. As her sailing day, February 1, approached, the papers commented with many misgivings on the ice blockade, which had become complete and threatened long continuance, and on the 30th of January a meeting of merchants was called on the Exchange to consider the situation.[1] The mayor, Mr. Martin Brimmer, presided, and after some discussion it was decided that the steamer should be cut out without expense to her owners, and sent to sea as near the advertised time of her departure as possible. A committee to collect the requisite money was chosen, consisting of Benjamin Rich, Caleb Curtis, Ozias Goodwin, Thomas C. Smith, Samuel Quincy, Thomas Gray, Charles Brown, Thomas B. Curtis, and Ammi C. Lombard. A contract was made with Messrs. Gage, Hittinger, & Co., and John Hill, for cutting two canals in the ice,—one from the East Boston Ferry to the open sea, and the other from the Ferry to India Wharf, into which other channels might be opened by such as desired it. For this work the contractors were to receive $1500. It was promptly and effectively completed, and the steamer sailed on the afternoon of February 3, thousands of spectators being on the ice to witness her passage through the canal.[2] This vigorous action of the business men of Boston made a very favorable impression on the other side of the Atlantic, and rather astonished the people of New York, who had never regarded the coming of the Cunard ships to Boston with much complacency, and who, especially since the loss of the "Columbia," had had a great deal to say about the extraordinary perils attendant upon ocean steam navigation at this port.[3]

The Cunard line was destined to furnish the entering wedge for the overturning of the wall of separation between the United States and British North America. Hitherto the Canadian mails had been landed at Halifax. As the result of Mr. Cunard's personal efforts at Washington, an act of

[1] Persons who started from Boston for New York on Monday, January 29, after staying at Stonington for several days, and being unable either to go through the Sound or to cross over to Greenport to connect there with the Long Island Railroad, returned to Boston on the evening of Friday, February 2. As late as February 12 the channel was closed for a mile and a half from the wharves.

[2] The scene has been perpetuated by a sketch from the pencil of Mr. King, the sculptor, which was lithographed at the time. Mr. King has told us that he was on the ice with Captain Hewitt of the "Britannia," when it occurred to him to make the sketch, and the only material at hand was a piece of brown parcel-paper. The dense masses of cloud charged with snow are very finely and, it is said, accurately given.

[3] Only once since has a similar work been necessary, and the same public spirit was manifested as before. In the month of January, 1857, the steamship "America" went to sea through a canal cut for the purpose; and on the following day the steamship "Arabia," from Liverpool, passed up through the same canal. The writer of this chapter was a passenger in the "Arabia" at the time.

The *New York Herald*, in commenting on the loss of the "Columbia" in 1843, had said of the dangers of the Boston route: "Four hundred and fifty miles of rock, ledge, shoal, fog, and narrow intricate channels."

Congress was passed (approved June 15, 1844) which authorized the postmaster-general to make such arrangements as might "be deemed expedient with the post-office department of the British Government, for the transmission of the British mail, in its unbroken state or condition, between Boston and Canada." This prepared the way for the provisions in Mr. Walker's Warehouse Act of 1846, which permitted Canadian importations to be landed at United States ports, and to be sent forward, *in transitu*, without payment of duty, or more than a nominal examination of the packages. This in turn led to the mutual arrangement for the passage of through trains, under lock and seal, on the international routes of the two countries; and, as the natural result of all this freedom of intercourse, came the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which, unfortunately for the people on both sides of the frontier, was abrogated in 1865; but which, we feel sure, will before long be succeeded by another arrangement, more comprehensive it may be, and more mutually beneficial, than that which preceded it.

Early in the summer of 1844 Mr. Enoch Train, who had been engaged in the leather trade, and in connection with this in the trade with South America, started his celebrated line of Liverpool packets, which for twelve or fifteen years, or until the general use of screw-steamers, proved so valuable to the trade and commerce of Boston.[1] Mr. Train had gone to England in the "Hibernia," in January, and had arranged with Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. to take charge of the proposed line in Liverpool until he should establish a house of his own there. On the 2d of May the ship "Dorchester," Captain Caldwell, was advertised to sail for Liverpool June 8, and it was added: "A first-class ship will hereafter be despatched from Boston on the 8th, and from Liverpool on the 24th, of each month." On the 20th of May a new announcement of the line was made, and the following ships were named: "Dorchester," 500 tons; "Cairo," 600 tons; "Governor Davis," 800 tons; "St. Petersburg," 800 tons,—"all first-class, Medford-built, copper-fastened, coppered, and fast sailing ships," to begin running from Liverpool June 24, and from Boston July 8.[2]

[1] The Warren line of steamers, now running between Liverpool and Boston, is the direct successor of the old Train line of sailing packets. Mr. Train sent his young partner, Mr. Frederick W. Thayer, to reside in Liverpool in 1848 or 1849; and when, several years later, Mr. Thayer came home, Mr. George Warren was sent out to take his place. On the failure of Mr. Train, and after the death of Mr. Thayer, the firm of George Warren & Co. was formed, and a new and prosperous business was built up on the ruins of the old.

[2] The "Dorchester" sailed May 28, and was followed by the barque "Ellen," June 10, and the "Cairo," July 8. Mr. Train's enterprise fully kept pace with the growth of the business, and he built in rapid succession the "Joshua Bates," "Anglo Saxon," "Anglo American," "Washington Irving," "Ocean Monarch," "Parliament," "Daniel Webster," "Star of Empire," "Chariot of Fame," "Staffordshire," "Cathedral," and "John Eliot Thayer." Through him Donald McKay was first brought into prominence as a ship-builder. Among Mr. Train's captains, all men of ability and high character, were Caldwell, Murdock, Thayer, Brown, Howard, Richardson, and Knowles. [Another well known East Boston ship-builder of this period was Samuel Hall, who, like several others, had established his reputation while his yard was in

The Cunard and Train lines gave an immediate and very marked impulse to the general trade of the city, and especially to its foreign business. The imports increased from about $14,000,000 in 1840, to $28,659,733 in 1850, and to $44,840,043 in 1857. At no time have there been so many importing and jobbing houses in Boston as between the years 1840 and 1857, although a few houses now do a larger business than was done by them all then.[1] The coastwise shipping trade during this period was also very large. The supplies of cotton for the mills of New England came by sea; also the products of the Southwest, such as provisions, lard, lead, etc. In return we shipped to the Southern ports domestic dry-goods, boots and shoes, furniture and wooden ware; and when everything else failed, there was always a tonnage supply of ice and granite for every vessel seeking a cargo for that direction.

Boston participated largely in the commercial activity created by the discovery of gold in California and Australia, while it lasted. The clearances at this port for those countries were: —

1852	98	1855	16
1853	149	1856	54
1854	59	1857	47

Forty-four vessels were built in and about Boston, in the year 1855, with a tonnage amounting to 45,988; and twenty-two more, of 27,877 tons, were on the stocks at the close of the year. The tonnage owned in Boston in 1855 was larger than ever before or since, — 541,644 tons.

From this time forward the foreign trade of the port began to wane, and it was many years before it was able to recover itself, as at length it has fully succeeded in doing. In 1867 the importations and the foreign arrivals were no more than they had been in 1857. The changes in ocean commerce brought to pass by the introduction of steam, and the effect of the Civil War upon the shipping interest, made themselves felt in Boston as at other ports in the United States; but, independently of all this, causes local and peculiar in their nature had been and were at work here, which as we

Duxbury. He built the steam-schooner "Midas," which, in 1844, was the first American steamer to pass the Cape of Good Hope. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1874, p. 327. — Ed.]

[1] Among the houses then prominent as importers in the foreign dry-goods trade were Adams, Homer, & Co.; Almy, Patterson, & Co.; Geo. B. Blake & Co.; Hovey, Williams, & Co.; Lane, Lamson, & Co.; Little, Alden, & Co.; W. & S. Phipps & Co.; Stoddard & Lovering; Whiton & March; and, as jobbers, Ammidown & Converse; Blanchard & Blodget; Holbrook, Bowman, & Co. (afterward Ammidown, Bowman, & Co.; Blanchard, Converse, & Co.; J. W. Blodget & Co.; Holbrook, Carter, & Co.); James M. Beebe & Co.; Chace, Grew, & Co.; Davis, Bates, & Turner; Dutton, Richardson, & Co.; Gassett, Bullard, & Co.; Jenness, Gage, & Co.; Parsons, Denison, & Co.; Daniel P. Stone & Co.; Towne, Waldo, & Co.; Wetherell, Whitney, & Co. (afterward Whitney & Fenno).

A few of the larger houses sent their own buyers abroad, but the majority gave orders a season in advance, which were executed by such commission houses as A. & S. Henry & Co.; Thornton, Atterbury, & Co.; and Crafts & Stell of Manchester; and John Munroe & Co. of Paris. The Messrs. Henry did an enormous business in the United States for many years. One of the partners, Mr. Samuel Henry, was lost in the "Lexington," on Long Island Sound, in 1840. The house was afterward represented in this country by Mr. Wm. F. Schofield, Mr. Nicholas Carter, and Mr. Henry Hitchcock.

now look back upon them seem to have been unnecessary and easily preventable, and which therefore are to be especially deplored. It has been said that Boston began to lose its hold upon the Calcutta trade after 1857. Previously to this it had lost the Canton trade, and it had lost it in a very foolish way. It had been the custom to sell China cargoes, immediately on their arrival, at public auction. The Legislature of Massachusetts in 1824, having discovered as it thought a valuable and permanent source of revenue, laid a tax of one per cent *ad valorem* on all merchandise sold in this way. The merchants remonstrated, and declared that the effect of the tax would be to transfer the China business to New York; but it was all in vain. One by one the ships were ordered elsewhere, until in 1857 there were forty-one arrivals from China in New York (half of these being ships owned in Boston), and only six here.[1] In 1849 the auction tax had been reduced on merchandise imported from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to one quarter of one per cent; and in 1852 it had been repealed altogether. But this remedial legislation had come too late. The set of the current was now in another direction, and it could not be diverted to the old channel. Mr. John E. Lodge, Messrs. Dane, Dana, & Co., and others would bring an occasional cargo of tea to this port; but New York had possession of the Canton trade, and held it firmly until the completion of the Pacific Railroad and Suez Canal, when another great change in courses and methods was introduced.[2]

Boston suffered much loss from the establishment in New York of branch commission houses for the sale of the manufactured dry-goods of this part of New England. This movement began in 1846; and a report of a special committee of the Board of Trade, in 1858, says that nineteen such houses had then been established, and that their sales amounted in the aggregate to $25,000,000 per annum. The dry-goods importing and jobbing trade, and the West India business, suffered seriously in consequence. The boot and shoe trade was held here by the firmness of the leading men engaged in it. Had they given way to the prevailing impulse, the result to the city would have been most disastrous.

The commercial interests of Boston suffered severely for many years from another cause. The construction of railroads in various directions from Boston had been undertaken at the first with much vigor, but after

[1] A similar tax in Philadelphia drove the ships of that port, coming from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to New York. See an article on "Local Taxation," in the *Penn Monthly* for May, 1871.

[2] Captain Sturgis, in a lecture at the Odeon in February, 1844, before the Mercantile Library Association, gave an account of the changes which had taken place in his day in the Canton trade. Nankeen, he said, was once imported in large quantities. As late as 1820 there was $1,000,000 worth imported; now there was none. In 1806 Canton crape was first used; in 1810 ten cases were imported; in 1816 twenty-one thousand pieces; in 1825 the importation amounted to $1,500,000; and in 1844 the article was not imported. Silk was once imported in large quantities from China; one cargo, worth nearly $1,000,000, was mentioned; now the whole yearly importation amounted to less than $100,000. In 1818, $7,000,000 were carried to China, in specie; in 1844 settlements were made by bills of exchange. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 19, 1844.

certain limitations had been reached, the work came to a premature pause. The Boston & Worcester and Western Railroad Companies, which together furnished the only direct means of communication with the West, seemed to expend most of their interest and energy in fruitless controversies with each other in reference to the proper division of freight earnings and terminal expenses. The former had no track connection with tide-water; and the latter, until 1865, had no bridge across the Hudson River, and was only partially double tracked. In 1867 the Boston & Albany Railroad Company was created by the consolidation of the two connecting and conflicting lines, and this was the beginning of a better state of things. In 1868 the double track between Boston and Albany was completed, and a connection perfected with the wharves at East Boston; and in 1870 an elevator was erected on these wharves, with a grain capacity of three or four hundred thousand bushels, since increased to a million.[1]

The consolidation of the two railroad lines just referred to was largely the result of the long continued efforts of the Boston Board of Trade, which was formed in 1854, with special reference to the radical defects in the transportation system of New England then prevailing, and to the necessity which existed for improved facilities of intercourse with the South and West. We must refer our readers to the reports of the Board for information as to how much was accomplished by it in the first ten or fifteen years of its history, in reducing rates of transportation by rail, and, what was of equal importance, in securing some approximation to regularity in the conveyance and delivery of freight, as well as in the promotion and encouragement of coastwise steamship lines. Some of the men who were the most active in these efforts, and to whom the present generation of business men in Boston owes much more than it is aware, were James C. Converse, George C. Richardson, Silas Potter, James M. Beebe, Edward S. Tobey, William Perkins, Otis Norcross, Wm. B. Spooner, Jonathan Ellis, Isaac C. Bates, Samuel H. Walley, Avery Plumer, M. Denman Ross, Edward Atkinson, Joseph S. Ropes, Ezra Farnsworth, and Lorenzo Sabine.

In 1863 the Cunard Company was sending two steamships a month to Boston, the same number as in 1840, and there was no indication or hope that it would attempt anything further in the way of extending the foreign trade of the port. The Board of Trade believed that this trade might be increased almost indefinitely, and it appointed a committee to consider the expediency of establishing an American steamship line between Boston and Liverpool. After much conference with railroad managers and representative men in the various branches of business, it was decided that such a line should be attempted, and a company was organized under an Act of the Legislature, July 6, 1864. Two steamers, the "Ontario," and the "Erie," were subsequently built; but the subscriptions of stock were only about one half what they should have been, and after the "Ontario" had made

[1] [See Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

two trips to Liverpool, in 1867, the company became insolvent and the ships had to be sold. [1]

At this juncture the Cunard Company took a step which, so far as its own interests are concerned, has proved to have been a serious mistake, and which for the time was a severe blow to the foreign trade of Boston. Its mail subsidy was to be reduced, and a change in its method of management was forced upon it. It was feeling the competition of the Inman and other modern lines at the port of New York, and it would seem that it could not have been informed as to the new spirit of enterprise to which our railroad managers were awaking. It determined, therefore, to withdraw its mail steamers from this port at the end of the year 1867, and to send instead cargo steamers, which, after landing their freight here, should proceed to New York to load there for Liverpool direct.[2] But this did not discourage those who were preparing, by various improvements, for a closer connection with the West, and for an export trade upon a large scale. In 1869 Mr. James Alexander was sent from Glasgow as the agent of the Company here. He at once put himself in communication with the officers of the Board of Trade, and with others competent to give him full and correct information, and after much correspondence with his principals, he induced them to attempt the loading of two or three of their cargo steamers at Boston for Liverpool direct. This was done in 1870. The "Palmyra" sailed September 22, being the first departure of a steamship for Liverpool since the "Africa" left the port in 1868.[3] The attempt was so far a success that it was decided to continue it. The Boston & Albany Railroad Company co-operated cordially with the Steamship Company, and joined it in some large purchases of grain, which it was necessary at the outset to make in order to insure full cargoes for the ships. Soon after, Mr. David MacIver (the second of the name), now member of Parliament for Birkenhead, visited this country, and after investigation fully confirmed the judgment of Mr. Alexander as to the commercial capabilities of the port, and the desirableness of the Cunard Company's restoring, so far as practicable, the old relations with it, which it had so unfortunately sundered. But Mr. MacIver's suggestions were not accepted by his partners; and in 1873 he retired from the Company and disposed of his entire interest in it. So indifferent was the Company to the splendid opportunity which lay within its reach here, that a few years later it sent one of its captains to Baltimore, to examine and report upon the shipping facilities of that port; and in the winter of 1879–80 it suspended its trips to Boston for a time. It declined,

[1] For a full account of the American Steamship Company, see *Report of the Boston Board of Trade* for 1880, pp. 47–50; and for an account of the steamers "Midas," "Edith," and "Massachusetts," see *Report* for 1862, pp. 61, 62.

[2] The Steamship "Africa," Captain Macaulay, sailed for Liverpool *via* Halifax, Jan. 1, 1868. The "Cuba," Captain Moodie, arrived on the second and proceeded on the fifth to New York, to take her place in the mail line from that port. After this came the cargo steamers.

[3] The line was regularly established in the following spring, when, on the 8th of April, 1871, the "Siberia" sailed for Liverpool from this port.

also, to begin a service between Boston and Glasgow, as recommended by Mr. Alexander.[1]

In the mean time other steamship companies were giving their attention to Boston, and were gradually identifying themselves with it. Messrs. Warren & Co., of Liverpool, had sent, during many years, an occasional steamer to this port, which had proceeded to Philadelphia or some Southern port for a return cargo. They now have a well established line between Boston and Liverpool. The Messrs. Leyland began to send their steamers here in the spring of 1876.[2] Branches of the Anchor and Allan lines were established later; until, in 1880, the departures from Boston for English and Scotch ports were more than one for every working day of the year, representing nine or ten different ownerships. We doubt whether, in the history of commerce, there is to be found a record of such a commercial development as that over which we have occasion to rejoice in Boston, — an advance from no sailing of a steamship for Europe direct in 1869, to three hundred and twenty-two such sailings in 1880.[3]

We have mentioned one legislative enactment, the direct effect of which was to drive business away from the port of Boston. It is only just to refer to other and later action by the General Court, which was designed and intended to promote our foreign commerce, and which has more than fulfilled the expectation of those who carried it through. At about the time when the Cunard Company was considering the question of reopening direct steamship communication between Boston and Liverpool, the Inman Company seemed disposed to send some of its ships to Boston, and actually began to do so. For the purpose of strengthening these companies in the disposition thus indicated, the Board of Trade asked the Legislature to repeal, or at least to modify, the law of the Commonwealth which levied a head-money tax on immigrant passengers arriving for the first time within its limits. It was represented by the Board, that to relieve immigration at the port of Boston from a tax which was imposed elsewhere would inevitably have the effect to increase immigration here, and would offer an additional inducement, and a very strong one, to steamship companies to send their vessels here. Indeed, one of the considerations which had great weight with the Cunard Company in reaching its ultimate decision with regard to Boston was that immigrant passengers brought here by its ships

[1] Mr. Alexander withdrew from the service of the company in 1879.

[2] The Leyland line began with trips once a fortnight. It was made a weekly line in January, 1878.

[3] The departures were as follows: —

To Liverpool	196
" Glasgow	47
" London	42
" West Hartlepool	21
" Hull	16
Total	322

Of this total the Cunard sailings were 59, all to Liverpool, — being less than one third of the sailings to that port, and less than one fifth of all the sailings to ports in Great Britain.

The port is, at present, almost destitute of facilities for the first-class passenger traffic with Europe, but the Allan Company has given encouragement to the hope that it will soon send some of its fine mail steamers here regularly. The splendid steamship "Parisian" came to Boston on her first trans-Atlantic voyage, and the "Sarmatian" and others like her are to follow.

were likely to be exempted from this tax, which, as it then appeared, would continue to be levied at the port of New York. The company foresaw in this exemption a reasonable promise of compensation for any disadvantages or losses to which it might for the time become liable, in engaging in the export trade between this city and Great Britain, which had been so long neglected; and in the end it realized all that it anticipated in this respect, and perhaps more. In 1870 the Legislature granted relief from the operation of the tax to such immigrants as immediately on their arrival here proceeded to places beyond the limits of the Commonwealth. At the next session the Board of Trade asked that this relief might be extended to all passengers arriving by regular lines of vessels, whether proposing to leave the State at once, or to take up their abode in it; and a bill to this effect was passed by both branches, but was vetoed by Governor Claflin. In 1872 the Board of Trade was successful, after a long struggle, in securing the abolition of the head-money tax altogether; and, but for the long depression which followed the commercial panic of 1873, the immigration of the port would have continued to increase year by year as the result of this enlightened and liberal legislation. In 1876 the Supreme Court of the United States declared all taxes on immigration levied by State authority to be unconstitutional; and as this decision peremptorily stopped their collection at the port of New York, the advantage which had been anticipated by the Board of Trade for the commerce of Boston from their abolition in Massachusetts was only temporary. It remained long enough, however, to impart an impulse to the steam commerce of the port, when it took a fresh start, the force of which has not yet expended itself.[1]

But this fresh start could not have been made had it not been for the admirable facilities which were brought into existence for the cheap and speedy transfer of merchandise between the railroad train and the sea-going vessel. Forty years ago the railroads leading from Boston were unequalled in their arrangements for receiving and handling freight, and it is strange that this pre-eminence was not maintained. The great dépôt in Boston (soon to be transformed into a new passenger station) was considered at the time it was built to be one of the wonders of the city; and Mr. Elias Hasket Derby, in his pamphlet *Two Months Abroad*, in which he describes a trip to Europe undertaken by Mr. Alvah Crocker and himself in 1843, for the purpose of buying iron for the Fitchburg Railroad, says: "I cannot learn that there are any goods stations in Europe to be compared with the principal dépôts of our line from Boston to Albany."[2] In 1851 the

[1] The immigrant arrivals at the port of Boston from 1869 to 1880 (each year ended September 30) were as follows:—

1869	26,414	1875	13,468
1870	30,069	1876	8,118
1871	22,904	1877	5,765
1872	25,957	1878	6,471
1873	31,042	1879	10,895
1874	20,223	1880	33,626

The arrivals for the nine months from Oct. 1, 1880, to June 30, 1881, were 27,834, mostly by the Cunard steamers.

[2] Mr. Derby says further: "The English engineers would be surprised on viewing the dépôt at Albany, four hundred and fifty feet long, with its roof overhanging the canal, and a steam-engine loading and discharging, both in storm and

Grand Junction Railroad was opened with high anticipations and amid public rejoicings;[1] but the time was not fully come, as it would now seem, for its profitable use. The property and franchise, which were of immense value to any proprietor who could afford to hold and improve them, came into the possession, in 1865 or 1866, of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company, and soon afterward they became part of the inheritance of the Boston & Albany Railroad Company. In 1868, as we have said, the connection between East Boston and the railroad system of the city was perfected; and Boston was then restored to the position, with regard to freighting facilities, which it enjoyed in the early days of railroad construction and management, and which was the aim of the enterprising men of 1851. The establishment of steamship lines to various European ports speedily followed, almost as a matter of course.

We have been obliged to compress this record of Boston's commercial history for a century within very narrow limits. To sum up in a single sentence: the town of less than twenty thousand inhabitants has become a metropolitan centre with half a million of people within and around its municipal limits; its banking capital has increased from $200,000 to more than $50,000,000; its export trade has grown from $500,000 to $60,000,000; and the amount of its imports from less than $1,000,000 to nearly $70,000,000.

sunshine, six or seven canal boats at once with perfect facility, the packages of goods descending as the flour rises."

[1] [See the chapter by Mr. James M. Bugbee, on "Boston under the Mayors," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

Special Topics.

CHAPTER I.

EDUCATION, PAST AND PRESENT. THE RISE OF FREE EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

BY CHARLES K. DILLAWAY.

OUR Puritan fathers who came from the mother country to establish a colony in Massachusetts, had a right appreciation of the great task before them, and they had too the energy, intelligence, and Christian manliness so necessary to accomplish it. Palfrey says of them: —

"They were men of eminent capacity and sterling character, fit to be concerned in the founding of a State. In all its generations of worth and refinement, Boston has never seen an assembly more illustrious for generous qualities, or for manly culture, than when the magistrates of the young colony welcomed Cotton and his fellow-voyagers at Winthrop's table."

Religion was the dominant element in their characters. Its inspiration brought them here, and its influence was seen in every act of their lives. It was the rock on which the State was founded.[1] In the records of the Court for May 3, 1654, we read: —

"Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country that the youth thereof be educated, not only in good literature but sound doctrine, this Court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of the officers of the college and the selectmen of the several towns, not to admit or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of teaching, educating, or instructing of youth or children, in the college or schools, that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."

[1] "Necessitie," said one of the Massachusetts company, "may presse some; noveltie draw on others; hopes of gaine in time to-come may prevail with a third sort; but that the most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the gospel for their main scope I am confident." "The propagation of the gospel," the company write in 1629, "is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation." *Massachusetts Archives.*

They knew that in such a community as they were forming public opinion would have a controlling influence, and should therefore be an enlightened one. For this reason they gave early and earnest attention to the establishment of free schools. Indeed, it has always been characteristic of New England that she adopted and maintained the principle, that it is the right and duty of Government to provide for the instruction of the young; that every man should be subject to taxation in proportion to his property for the support of free schools, whether he himself have children or not. Popular education lies at the basis of the free institutions of New England.[1]

In 1642 the General Court of the Colony required the municipal authorities to see that every child within their jurisdiction should be educated, and that this education should not be narrow or superficial. The selectmen of every town were required to "have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors; to see first that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them to read the English tongue and obtain a knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein." Such was the idea of "barbarism" entertained by the colonists of Massachusetts Bay more than two centuries ago.

We cannot forbear quoting once more from the Colonial laws (Nov. 11, 1647): —

"To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty households, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof to be able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University; provided that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school, till they shall perform the order."

It was further required that religious instruction should be given to all children; and also, —

"That all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children to some honest, lawful calling, labor, or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade profitable for themselves and the Commonwealth, if they will not or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments."

[1] President Dwight, in 1790, said: "A stranger travelling through New England marks with not a little surprise the multitude of school-houses appearing everywhere at little distances. Familiarized as I am to the sight, they have excited no small interest in my mind, particularly as I was travelling through the settlements recently begun. Here, while the inhabitants were still living in log huts, they had not only erected school-houses for their children, but had built them in a neat style, so as to throw an additional appearance of deformity over their own clumsy habitations. This attachment to education in New England is universal, and the situation of that hamlet must be bad indeed, which, if it contains a sufficient number of children for a school, does not provide the necessary accommodations."

When we consider the period in which this system of instruction was inaugurated, the small number of the population of Massachusetts, the dangers which surrounded them from the Indians, the scattered settlements and their poverty, the boldness of the measure which aimed at universal education through the establishment of free schools, — we cannot but admire the good sense, energy, and indomitable courage of our Puritan ancestors.[1]

The records of the town of Boston "1634, 7th month, day 1," relate to the absolute necessities of an infant settlement. In 1635 (April 13) we find this entry in the handwriting of the venerable elder of the First Church, Thomas Leverett: "Likewise it was then generally agreed upon that our brother Philemon Pormort shall be intreated to become scoolemaster for the teaching and nourtering of children with us." He accepted the trust, and was supported partly by donations of liberal friends of education, and partly by the income of a tract of land assigned to him at Muddy River.[2]

This being the only public school in the town for about half a century, it is reasonable to infer that the elementary as well as the higher branches were taught. Its principal object, however, from its establishment to the present time has been to prepare young men for college. "Out of small beginnings," says Bradford, "great things have been produced; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sort to our whole nation." He must have had in his mind the first Boston school, which has been perpetuated in the present Latin School. Its origin was simple and unpretending; its advantages as an educational institution in its early days hardly to be compared with those of the humblest country school of the present time; and yet what a burning and shining light it has become! For nearly two and a half centuries it has been training statesmen whose wisdom has guided our nation. It has given us such men as Benjamin Franklin, whose statue[3] stands on the spot[4] where his brief school-days were spent; Samuel Adams, the distinguished patriot, whose statue has been recently erected; Cotton Mather, one of the best scholars of his time; Judge Hutchinson; Governor Leverett

[1] "The education of the people," says Macaulay, "ought to be the first concern of a State. . . . This is my deliberate conviction; and in this opinion I am fortified by thinking that it is also the opinion of all the great legislators, of all the great statesmen, of all the great political philosophers of all ages and of all nations. . . . It is the opinion of all the greatest champions of civil and religious liberty in the old world and in the new; and of none — I hesitate not to say it — more emphatically than of those whose names are held in the highest estimation by the Protestant Nonconformists of England. . . . These men, illustrious forever in history, were the founders of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

[2] See Vol. I. p. 123. When Mr. Pormort ended his labors is not stated, but in 1650 is the following record: "It is also agreed on that Mr. Woodmansey, the schoolmaster, shall have fiftye pound p. ann. for his Teaching ye Schollers, and his proportion to be made up by ratte." In 1666 the town "agreed with Mr. Dannell Henchman for £40 per ann. to assist Mr. Woodmansey in the Grammar Schoole, and teach Children to wright, the Yeare to begine the 4th of March, 66." In March, 1670, "upon the request of Mrs. Margaret Woodmansye, widdowe, to provide her a house to live in, if she removeth from the schoole house, it was granted to allow her eight pounds per ann. for that end during her widdowhood." [See further on Woodmansey and Henchman, Vol. I. pp. 313, 317; II. p. xxxiii. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. 290. — Ed.]

[4] [See Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 250; and Drake's *Landmarks*, 57. — Ed.]

and his grandson, a President of Harvard College; Wm. Stoughton, Chief-Justice of Massachusetts; James Bowdoin, and many others whose eminent public services are on record.[1]

Dec. 12, 1670, we find the first mention in the town records of the famous "Master Cheever," who for thirty years had such an important influence upon the education of the people of Boston. Cotton Mather, who was his pupil, calls him the civilizer of his country. He died Aug. 21, 1708, "venerable," says Governor Hutchinson, "not merely for his great age (xciv), but for having been the schoolmaster of most of the principal men who were then upon the stage." Upon the decease of his master, Mather preached one of the good long sermons in which he most delighted, — devout rhapsodies, which in our days seem to be a mass of dogmatism, fervor, and italics.[2]

The law of 1642 enjoined universal education, but did not make it free; nor did it impose any penalty upon municipal corporations for neglecting to maintain a school. The spirit of the law, however, worked energetically in the hearts of the people. Says Governor Winthrop: —

"Divers free schools were erected, as in Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever) and at Boston, where they made an order to allow fifty pounds and a house to the master, and thirty pounds to an usher who should also teach to read and write and cipher; and Indians' children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, etc.; and this order was confirmed by the General Court. Other towns did the like, providing maintenance by several means."[3]

[1] In our time it has given us such men as Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, Wm. M Evarts, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and Edward Everett Hale. It has given us three Presidents of Harvard, including Charles W. Eliot, its present head, whose vigorous administration is making our University a model institution. [See H. E. Scudder's paper on "Classical Schools," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 1877, ii. p. 712; H. F. Jenks's *Boston Public Latin School*, reprinted from *The Harvard Register*, 1880; G. B. Emerson's "Education in Massachusetts," in the *Lowell Institute Lectures* of the Mass. Hist. Soc.; *Latin School Prize Book*, No. iv, reprinted in the *American Journal of Education*. An improved catalogue of the graduates of the school is in preparation, under the auspices of the Boston Latin School Association. — Ed.]

[2] In a poetical essay on his memory, Mather ascribes the learning of New England to him and to Corlett, an eminent teacher in Cambridge, who is celebrated in the *Magnalia*:

"'Tis Corlett's pains and Cheever's we must own
That thou, New England, art not Scythia grown."

In the following description we see the characteristics of the writer as well as the master:

"He lived, and to vast age no illness knew,
Till time's scythe waiting for him rusty grew:
He lived and wrought, his labors were immense,
But ne'er declin'd to preterperfect tense."

See Vol I. pp. 397, 461; II. xxxiii, 420. Mr. Cheever having died in 1708 (See *Sewall Papers* ii. 230), was succeeded by Nathaniel Williams in 1710, and he in 1734 by the celebrated "Master Lovell." In 1710 five inspectors of schools were appointed, but little is known of their objects or duties [This movement of the town was frowned upon by some of the ministers, who had grown to think that they had a prescriptive right to control the schools. See letters of Increase Mather and Sewall, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Feb. 1873, where will be found a paper by R. C. Waterston on the early schools. — Ed.] It appears from the records that originally the schools were under the supervision of the selectmen, in whose care they continued until 1789.

[3] "10th day of ye 11th month, 1641. It is ordered that Deare Island shall be improoved for the maintenance of a Free Schoole for the Towne

In 1645, only ten years after the establishment of the Boston school, another quite similar in character and origin was begun in Roxbury. The town had then but few inhabitants, and these widely scattered. Amidst all their trials and sufferings they never lost sight of the great fact that the moral and intellectual training of their children was a matter of the first importance. To secure this they established a school, and mortgaged their estates for the payment of an annual sum to support it. One of the most earnest advocates of this enterprise was John Eliot, familiarly known to us as the Apostle Eliot, — *clarum et venerabile nomen*, — whose labors and sacrifices in Christianizing the Indian population of the neighborhood will never be forgotten by those who appreciate Christian heroism and the heartiest philanthropy.[1]

In 1671 Thomas Bell, one of the early settlers in Roxbury,[2] who had been a liberal benefactor to the school, returned to England and died there. His will is a long document of fifteen pages, from which we make the following extract: —

"Imprimis, I give unto Mr. John Eliot, Minister of the Church and people of God, at Roxbury in New England, and Isaac Johnson, whom I take to be an officer or overseer of and in the same church, and to one such other Godly person now bearing office in said church, and their successors, . . . all those my messuages or tenements, lands, and hereditaments, with their and every of their appurtenances, scituate, lying, and being at Roxbury in New England, aforesaid, in parts beyond the seas, to have and to hold to the said Minister and officers of the said Church of Roxbury for the time being, and their successors from time to time for ever, in trust only, notwithstanding, to and for the maintenance of a schoolemaster and free schoole for the teaching and instructing of poore men's children at Roxbury, aforesaid, for ever, and to and for no other use, intent, or purpose whâtsoever."

The property received from this liberal bequest consisted of various pieces of real estate scattered over the town of Roxbury. Soon after the act of incorporation was passed, the board of trustees appointed under it thought it expedient to raise a fund which would be more productive than these tracts of land had been, and resolved to dispose of them on long leases. They were probably influenced in some degree by the conviction that it would better comport with the views of the testator; and partly also by a belief that lands were safer for permanent charitable institutions, and that such lands in a new country, in which they had risen in a little more than a century from the price of a few blankets to a great pecuni-

and such other occasions as ye Townsmen for the time being shall think meet, the sayd Schoole being sufficiently Provided for." In 1649, Long and Speetacle Islands were assigned to the use of the school, and the selectmen were directed to take order that they be leased for the use of the school, at a yearly rent of six pence on every acre. In 1654 "it is ordered that the ten pounds left by legacy to ye school of Boston by Miss Hudson, deceased, shall be lett to Capt. James Olliver, for 16s. per annum, so long as he pleases to improve itt." [Christopher Stanley left an early bequest, 1646, to support the town school. See Vol. II. p. vi, x; and Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 160. — Ed.]

[1] [See chapters by Dr. Ellis and F. S. Drake, in Vol. I. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 420.]

ary value, would go on increasing in the same ratio perhaps to a higher one; and partly, if not principally, from a belief that it is improvident in any present generation to grant away from posterity property which was designed for that posterity. Whatever their motives might have been, they resolved to retain the fee simple of the lands for the institution. Their decision time has shown to be a wise one. The lands leased at auction for one hundred and twenty years appear to have brought nearly or quite the prices that would have been paid for the fee simple. The amount received was $9,888, the income of which in those days was sufficient to support a school of thirty boys and one teacher. Sixty years later, so valuable had the lands become that the trustees deemed it expedient to sell a portion in order to enlarge the capacity of the school. From this sale they received an amount sufficient to maintain permanently a school of one hundred and thirty boys, with six teachers, and to pay salaries liberal enough to command the best talent.[1] The course of studies is substantially the same as that of its contemporary, the Boston Public Latin School, both having for their object the fitting of boys for a college education. By the act of incorporation the number of trustees must not be more than thirteen, nor less than nine. In case of vacancies in the board the trustees are required to "elect by ballot one or more persons, being respectable freeholders in the town of Roxbury, to supply such vacancy or vacancies. Provided always, that the minister and the two oldest deacons of the First Church of Christ in the said town of Roxbury shall always, by virtue of their said offices, be members of the said corporation."

Thus has private munificence provided for us an educational institution possessing rare advantages owing to the liberal course pursued in its management, and still more to the mode of electing its trustees, as prescribed by the constitution.[2]

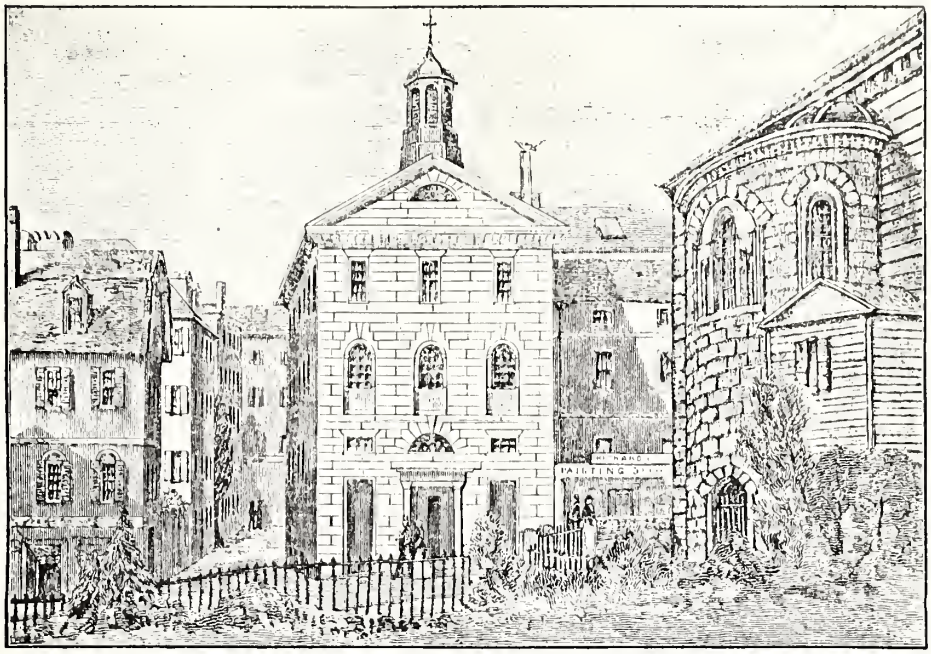
For nearly fifty years the Boston Latin School was the only one supported by the town. In 1682 it became so crowded that two others were established, "for the teaching of children to write and cipher."

The question naturally arises, Why were not schools for the common English branches the first to be established? Those who appreciate the religious character of our Puritan ancestors will not think it improbable that in providing so early for instruction in Latin and Greek, and preparing young men for college, their object was to secure a body of learned scholars who "by acquaintance with ancient tongues" should be able to obtain a

[1] The compensation of the head-master, Wm. C. Collar, is larger than that of any one of our public teachers.

[2] In electing a city school-committee it frequently happens that politics and sectarianism are prominent agents. The consequence is that the best qualified men are often superseded by others whose only claims are that they belong to the dominant party in politics or theology. The records of the trustees show that such a state of things never existed, and could not exist, in their board. We have thought it right to give a full account of this school, because Roxbury, which for more than two centuries was an independent town, has become by annexation a part of Boston, and therefore identified with its interests. [Mr. Dillaway published a *History of the Roxbury Latin School* in 1860, with biographical sketches of the ministers of the First Church and other trustees. — Ed.]

knowledge of the Scriptures, and become qualified "to discern the true sense and meaning of the original." [1]



THE OLD LATIN SCHOOL.[2]

One of the schools in writing and arithmetic soon became classical in its character, and was called the North Latin School till 1790, when it was restored to its original purpose.[3] Since that time the Boston Latin School

[1] The training of ministers was one of the chief objects in the foundation of the college. Our forefathers believed in a Church even without a bishop, as they did in a State without a king.

"This Courte being sensible of the necessity and singular use of good literature in managing the things of greatest importance in this Commonwealth, as also perceiving the fewnes of persons accomplished in such employments, especially for future times, have thought meete to propose to all and every our rev. elders and brethren, that due care be had from time to time to improve and exercise such students, especially in divinity, as through the good hand of God may issue forth of the colledges, that so for want of imployment or maintenance they be not forced from us, and we left destitute of help that way." — *Massachusetts Records*, ii. 167.

[2] [This cut follows a water-color belonging to Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell, and is copied by his kind permission. A portion of the rear of King's Chapel, given in the foreground, fixes its exact location on the opposite side of School Street; the site is now covered by the Parker House. The building was erected in 1812, and was taken down in 1844; and some reminiscences of it by George S. Hillard are printed in *The Boston Book*, 1850. It was the second building on that site, the previous one having been built about 1748, when the school-house on the opposite side of the street was given up. Mr. Dixwell was head-master of the school from 1836 to 1851, his immediate predecessor (1831 to 1836) having been the writer of this chapter. — Ed.]

[3] In 1741 the population of the town was 16,382; the number in the schools as follows: —

South Writing School	73
Queen (now Court) Street	73
North Grammar	230
South Latin	94
North Latin	65
	535

In 1758 the selectmen, after their official visit, reported "841 in all, and which were found in very good order." In 1800 there were seven free schools, with 900 pupils, of whom 16[illegible] were

has been the only one of our free institutions, established by the School Committee and under their control, where boys could be prepared to enter college.[1]

In 1789 there was a thorough reorganization of the school system, to adapt it to the circumstances and wants of the time. The course of instruction, which was prepared by a committee of eminent men, among whom was the distinguished patriot Samuel Adams, was as follows: —

"In Town Meeting, Oct. 16, 1789. *Voted*, that there shall be one writing school at the South part of the Town, one at the Centre, and one at the North part; that in these schools the children of both sexes shall be taught writing and also arithmetic in the various branches of it usually taught in the Town schools, including vulgar and decimal fractions.

"That there be one Reading school at the South part of the Town, one at the Centre, and one at the North part; that in these schools the children of both sexes be taught to spell, accent, and read both prose and verse; and also be instructed in English grammar and composition."

Although these schools were intended for both sexes, girls were admitted to them only for half the year, — from April to October. This rule continued till 1828, when they were allowed to attend the whole year, and until sixteen years of age, — the boys being required to leave at fourteen. It is noticeable that no text-books were named; there was little need of it, for until about that time there was but one school-book proper which children were expected to have, and that was Dilworth's *Spelling-Book*, containing a brief "treatise on English grammar," which was probably the grammar required to be taught. The Testament, Psalter, and Bible were the only reading-books. There were no printed copy-books for writing, and no slates in use, the ciphering being done on paper. The requirements of this programme were considerably above what had previously been taught in the schools, and were by many thought to be excessive.[2]

Among the important changes made during the last forty years were the abandonment of the "double-headed" system, and the placing of each school under the care of one master, with such assistants as might be required. In the construction of school-houses, the rooms have been so arranged that each class may be by itself. Another change has been made which some may not think an improvement, in the adoption of the system of large schools, each containing from 600 to 900 pupils.

taught Latin. [Thomas Hutchinson, the father of the Governor, gave to the North End its first school-house, which was built on the lot where now the Eliot School-house stands. Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 205. — Ed.]

[1] Its present head-master is Moses Merrill, Ph.D., a graduate of Harvard University. He was elected in 1877, after many years of successful service in the school.

[2] The curriculum of instruction has been extended in our days to a degree that would have astonished our forefathers. To their "reading, writing, grammar, and ciphering," have been added geography, morals, manners, vocal music, natural philosophy, drawing, history, declamation, physiology, book-keeping, and the Constitution of the United States. Some of these would not unreasonably be considered high-school studies; but it must be remembered that for many the grammar-school is the last stage in their training for the labors and responsibilities of active life.

Vocal culture, physical training, and vocal gymnastics have been adopted as a part of the system for all the schools. Music, besides its refining and humanizing influences which all acknowledge, has been of practical advantage in many ways. It has been an efficient aid in making good readers.[1] It has been, too, a relief from earnest and exhausting study.[2] "Recreation," says Locke, "is not being idle, as any one may observe, but easing the weary part by change of business." The system originated in Germany, whence it spread into Holland, Switzerland, and France; more recently into Great Britain, where it encountered the same opposition as with us.[3]

Another progressive step has been made by a better understanding of that much-abused word "discipline." Fifty years ago corporal punishment was considered a necessity in all our public schools. It is comparatively rare now, and daily growing less frequent. "Discipline," says Coleridge, "is the maximum of watchfulness with the minimum of punishment." Our best teachers do not believe that severity is an attribute of true discipline.

We must number among the important improvements the introduction of drawing, — an art so valuable to every engineer, builder, designer, machinist, men of all professions and trades, that it seems indispensable in the list of public-school studies. An act of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1870 makes the teaching of drawing obligatory, and requires industrial drawing-schools to be set up in the cities and towns of the State having more than ten thousand inhabitants. The former of these had already been anticipated in Boston. Fortunately the facilities afforded by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, both in respect to instructors and accommodations, rendered it practicable to open evening classes in industrial drawing on a liberal scale. Eight teachers were employed on free-hand and mechanical drawing, the number of pupils being about five hundred.

The centennial report of the French commissioners, after commending the exhibition from our public schools as "extremely remarkable, the most complete of all and the most methodically arranged," goes on to state that Massachusetts does not propose to multiply the number of artists, but to create able artisans; not to procure a few talents in harmony with the best

[1] Roger Ascham, the famous teacher and scholar of the Elizabethan age, said: "All voices, great and small, base and shrill, weak or soft, may be holpen and brought to a good point by learning to sing."

[2] The instruction of our young people in music during the past forty years has had the good effect of introducing congregational singing — the most impressive form of devotional music — into many of our churches. This alone would compensate us for all the expense we have incurred, and for the strenuous effort made to overcome the prejudice against singing as an element in our common-school education. Martin Luther said: "As for myself, if I had children, and were able, I would teach them not only the languages and history, but singing likewise; and with music I would combine a full course of mathematics."

[3] When a prominent member of Parliament suggested in the House of Commons that singing should be taught in all the schools as in Germany, his suggestion was received with ridicule. This spirit of opposition afterward elicited from the celebrated John Hullah, an earnest advocate for music, the quaint remark: "Yea, verily, thanks to the arduous labors of those who well addressed themselves to ears as deaf as stone walls on this subject, the principle is now at length recognized by all the educational societies in the realm." Says Byron, —

"There's music in all things, if men had ears."

well-to-do population, but to give to the thousands of future workmen the sum of knowledge and aptitude which they need to increase the value of their labor, to get a larger price for their work, and finally to unite and perfect national industry. A triennial exhibition of drawing made in our city schools and free evening drawing-schools was held in conjunction with that of the State schools in the beginning of June, 1879. The report of the judges stated that a greater average of excellence of rank was manifestly observable since the previous exhibition in 1876.[1]

The report says: —

"Every sheet of drawing on any one screen in the Primary and Grammar divisions represents a different school; and we notice a general uniformity of careful work in all. . . . This is more satisfactory than the exceptional excellence of a few schools, which used to be observable several years ago. In the High Schools also there can be no doubt of a progress having been made, both in the system of study pursued and the attainment of the pupils in individual studies. In the evening schools, with one or two exceptions, a more systematic course of study is evident in the individual subjects of machine drawing and ship draughting; and many of the free-hand works from the cast in several schools display great excellence." [2]

The provision of a superintendent [3] has contributed largely to the success of our schools. Nathan Bishop, a gentleman of experience and eminent fitness for such an office, was the first to hold it. His successor was John D. Philbrick, LL.D., whose services continued for the long period of twenty years. He fully appreciated the importance of our educational institutions, and by his good judgment, energy, and perseverance effected many changes in their management which time has shown to be improvements.[4]

[1] [See H. E. Scudder's paper on "Education by Hand," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, vol. lviii. p. 406 — Ed.]

[2] The department of drawing has been until recently under the direction of Walter Smith. His successor is Henry Hitchings, a gentleman of ability and large experience. [See the chapter, "Art in Boston," by Arthur Dexter. — Ed.]

[3] This office was established in 1851. The superintendent is elected biennially. He is required to devote himself to the study of the public-school system, and to keep himself acquainted with the progress of instruction and discipline in other places, in order to suggest appropriate means for the improvement of our own schools. He must see that the regulations of the School Board are carried into effect, visit each school as often as his other duties permit, and be able to suggest improvements and remedy defects in their management. He becomes a member of the Board of Supervisors, and when present must preside at its meetings.

Another important aid in our educational system has been given by the Board of Supervisors, — the executive branch of the School-Committee. In addition to the examination in detail of all the schools, they are required to ascertain by careful inspection the sanitary condition of the schools, houses, and premises, including the heating and ventilating apparatus; the mode of government, including motives of study, principles, and methods of classifying and promoting pupils; the merits, defects, and needs of each school, — and in general the physical, mental, and moral condition of the scholars. Another important duty devolving upon them is the examination of candidates for the office of teachers in our schools of all grades. This Board was established in 1876. Its members are elected biennially by the School Committee. Very wisely the claims of both sexes are equally recognized in the election of members of both boards. The present Supervisors are Samuel W. Mason, Lucretia Crocker, Ellis Peterson, Francis W. Parker, George A. Littlefield, and John Kneeland.

[4] His annual reports from 1857 to 1878 abound with practical suggestions of great value, and give a complete history of our school system during that period. My acknowledgments are due to him for many of the statements in this chapter.

The next incumbent was Samuel Eliot, LL.D., whose rare scholarship and familiar acquaintance with the best educational institutions in Europe as well as in this country admirably qualified him for so important an office. Unfortunately for us, after two years of eminently successful service, failing health compelled him to resign and seek in other lands a restoration to his former vigor. The present superintendent is Edwin P. Seaver, Ph.D., formerly head-master of our English High School.

In speaking of our grammar schools, we are reminded of the great service rendered to them and to the cause of education generally by the late Horace Mann. In 1837 he was elected Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and for many years discharged with great efficiency and success the duties of that office. By his lectures and writings he awakened an interest in our schools which had never been felt before. Through his influence important changes were made in the school-laws of Massachusetts, and a thorough reform was effected in the educational system of the State. He was a gifted and heroic philanthropist.[1]

In 1818 provision was made for the instruction of children from four to seven years of age. The primary schools established for this purpose seem to have originated in a general desire of our citizens to relieve the Sunday-schools from the great amount of secular instruction received there, which was fast crowding out the religious training that should be the object of such institutions. But this was not the only or the chief consideration. It was found that several hundred children under the age of seven did not attend any school, because the charity schools were in most instances provided for girls only, being under the inspection of ladies, their founders, and the private schools were too expensive for parents of moderate means. Another consideration was, that the children who had not learned to read or write could not be received into the grammar schools, and were therefore virtually deprived of their advantages. How important the citizens of Boston considered such elementary instruction may be inferred from the fact that two hundred of its most prominent men petitioned for a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, to consider the subject. Among those most interested was the late James Savage, a well-known and influential citizen, of strong benevolent impulses, under the control of a sound, practical understanding. In that forcible manner so peculiar to him, whether in speaking

[1] When the new Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted, in 1780, public education was duly recognized. An article, the spirit of which was in accordance with the legislation of 1647, was adopted, and still remains the fundamental law of the State. In 1834 $1,000,000 were raised in Massachusetts to aid the towns in their educational labors. By an act of the Legislature in 1854 it was enlarged to $1,500,000, by the transfer to the fund of two thousand nine hundred and forty-four shares of the stock of the Western Railroad Corporation, held by the State. By a law of 1859 the fund has been increased to $2,000,000 by the sale of lands on the Back Bay. One half the income is annually distributed among the cities and towns of the State, in proportion to the number of children in each between the ages of five and fifteen years. No apportionment, however, is to be made to any town or city which does not send a report and raise by taxation three dollars for each child for the support of schools. The establishment of the "School Fund," and the organization of the Board of Education were the most important measures ever adopted by our State Legislature for the improvement of our educational system.

or writing, he urged upon the authorities of the town the importance of this class of school.[1]

At this public meeting the selectmen and school committee were opposed to the movement. Indeed, so strongly were they prejudiced that they retained the eloquence and personal influence of Harrison Gray Otis on their side; but they were defeated by a large vote of the people, and the primary schools were established. No one well acquainted with our system of public education can fail to appreciate this early introduction to it.

Recent statistics show the magnitude and importance of these schools. More than half the children educated at the public expense attend them, and nearly all the rest have gone out from them to enter the higher grade. Boston has now four hundred and six primary schools, with the same number of teachers, and twenty thousand seven hundred and thirty scholars.[2] Previous to 1862 children were admitted at four years of age; since that time those under five have been excluded.[3]

It is a noticeable fact that until primary schools were instituted we had not begun to recognize the great value of woman's assistance in the instruction of the young. In this new field that assistance was indispensable, and its success so evident that women soon became teachers in our grammar and high schools, and are now a powerful aid in every educational movement.[4]

[1] From a communication by him in the *Daily Advertiser* of April 1, 1818, we copy the following passage, which will show his philanthropic spirit and his earnestness in advocating what he believed to be right: —

"In the report of the School Committee we are told that the number of children between the ages of 4 and 14 is 526, *who go to no school*. What are those children doing? Who has charge of them? Where do they live? Why are they not at school? The committee have not informed us. Have they not the right to a good bringing up, and to a common-school education? and have they not a right to a common share of the friendship of the community? If their parents neglect to provide them a school, is it not the duty of the town to do it? And if the town takes no interest in their welfare, is it not the duty of the Legislature to make laws for the purpose of saving these dependents, — these sufferers?"

[2] When first instituted, the Primary-School Committee consisted of thirty-six members, the number of schools under their care was twenty-five, and the number of children about one thousand. When this committee became extinct, in 1855, by a transfer of its duties to the Boston School Board, there were one hundred and ninety-six members, one hundred and ninety-seven schools, and over twelve thousand children. The reasons for a change were: (1) The questionable legality of its organization; (2) Because, as a deliberative or executive body, it had become too numerous for its purposes; (3) Because of the mode in which its members were elected and vacancies filled; (4) Because its continuance perpetuated a want of unity in our school system.

[3] Attendance from five to seven was voluntary. In the compulsory system the aim is to include only those children whose physical and mental development renders them able to attend school at all seasons of the year. For this reason the lower limit of legal age in most countries is fixed at six years, — in Massachusetts at eight. In England compulsory attendance begins at five years of age, but children are admitted to the infant schools at four. See *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee, from its first Establishment, in* 1818, *to its Dissolution, in* 1855, by J. M. Wightman. Boston, 1860.

[4] Women are equal to men in teaching, and superior to them in forming the tastes and manners of their pupils. Few members of our School Board would dissent from this opinion, and yet the compensation given to women bears no comparison with that given to men. There have been many evidences of progress in our educational system, — we look for one in this direction. In the census of 1870 it appeared that there were two hundred thousand teachers in the public schools of the United States, and of these one hundred and nine thousand were women. According to the report of the United States Commissioners of Education, published in 1879, there were in Massachusetts one thou-

In connection with the primary schools should be named the Kindergarten, one of which was begun in 1870, with the understanding that if successful it should be continued and others established. No one has ever questioned the success of the experiment; indeed, the best friends of education were enthusiastic in their admiration of its results. We like the system of Froebel, because it allows children to be children, and governs them by no iron rule.[1] The training of those of Kindergarten age must be by persuasion, not compulsion. "There should be as much life, joy, and nature," says Arthur Helps, "put into teaching as there can be." The School Committee found no fault with the results of the experiment, but were unwilling to continue one school of this class, which as they believed would be for the benefit of a favored few, and were so alarmed at the prospective cost of adopting the system, that they discontinued it altogether.

Fortunately for Boston the friends of Froebel and his admirable mode of training young children determined that what was so well begun and had proved so successful in its results should not be abandoned. Through their activity and public spirit the means were obtained for establishing several Kindergarten schools. One Boston lady, Mrs. Pauline A. Shaw, whose liberality and right appreciation of the interests of the young will be held in honored remembrance, is sustaining at her own cost no less than thirty of these schools and fifty teachers in different parts of the city. A large proportion of the recipients of her bounty come from the poorest classes, many from homes where they suffer from neglect and ill-treatment. On reaching these schools, the wants of the body as well as of the mind are cared for; the ragged clothing is thrown aside, and cleanliness is allowed its claim among the higher virtues.[2]

In 1821 the English High School for boys was established; and George B. Emerson, LL.D., a graduate of Harvard University, and one of our most accomplished and successful teachers, was elected head-master. This

sand one hundred and eighteen male, and seven thousand three hundred and ninety female teachers in the public schools, — the former receiving the average salary of $75.64 and the latter $33.04 per month. There are in Massachusetts, between the ages of five and fifteen, two hundred and ninety-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-two school-children, and an average attendance of two hundred and twenty-two thousand seven hundred and four. [See further on the position of women as educators and intellectual workers, Mrs. E. D. Cheney's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[1] Froebel's purpose, as indicated by himself, is "to take the oversight of children before they are ready for school-life; to exert an influence over their whole being in correspondence with its nature; to strengthen their bodily powers; to exercise their senses; to employ the awakening mind; to make them thoughtfully acquainted with the world of nature and of man; to guide them heart and soul in a right direction, and lead them to the origin of all life, and to union with Him."

[2] It would cheer the hearts of our philanthropists, it would soften the hearts of the cynical, to visit one of these institutions and watch the bright, happy faces of the little ones, whether at their lessons or their sports. Says Longfellow: —

"Come to me, O ye children!
For I hear you at your play,
And the questions that perplexed me
Have vanished quite away.

"For what are all our contrivings,
And the wisdom of our books,
When compared with your caresses,
And the gladness of your looks?

"Ye are better than all the ballads
That ever were sung or said;
For ye are living poems,
And all the rest are dead."

is one of the last as well as one of the best monuments of the action of the old town of Boston. Some of the latest town-meetings previous to the adoption of the city charter were held in reference to the founding of this school. Its object has been to provide for the graduates of the grammar schools a thorough English education and the means of fitting them for any department of commercial life.[1]

The English High School has now four hundred and fifty-one members and nineteen teachers, Francis A. Waterhouse, a graduate of Bowdoin College, being the head-master. It has always been popular, always progressive in its methods of study and discipline, and is still administered in a liberal and common-sense manner.[2] The Rev. James Fraser, an English Commissioner, said in his excellent report on the Common-School system of the United States, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty: "Taking it for all in all, and as accomplishing the end at which it professes to aim, the English High School of Boston struck me as the model school of the United States. I wish we had a hundred such in England."[3]

This is the testimony of a competent judge, one who must have been unprejudiced and impartial. In another part of his report he says: "I have already mentioned this school as the one above all others that I visited in America which I should like the Commissioners to have seen at work as I myself saw it, — the very type of a school for the middle classes of this country, managed in the most admirable spirit, and attended by just the sort of boys one would desire to see in such a school." The impressions of an intelligent foreigner should always be welcome. They are likely to differ from ours, and will therefore afford an opportunity for profitable comparison.

[1] How much this was to include may be inferred from the following prescribed course of studies: mathematics, rhetoric, English literature, music, physiology, botany, drawing, history, chemistry, ethics, physics, astronomy, book-keeping, metaphysics, and political economy. To these were afterward added the French and German languages. "Experience has proved," says Francis Adams, "that elementary education flourishes most where the provision for higher education is most ample. If the elementary schools of Germany are the best in the world, it is owing in a great measure to the fact that the higher schools are accessible to all classes. In the United States the common schools have always produced the best results where the means of higher education have been the most plentiful." — *Massachusetts State Report*, 1877.

[2] [See *Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the English High School, May 2, 1871, Oration by J. W. Edmands, with Historical Appendix.* Boston, 1871. — Ed.]

[3] When the discussions for the support of the Educational Bureau were in progress, Mr. G. F. Hoar declared upon the floor of Congress, that the only respectable account of education in this country ever published had been prepared by foreign governments. "Among such reports, the most satisfactory is that of the Rev. James Fraser, now the Bishop of Manchester, England, who came to this country in 1865, and employed six months in the prosecution of his inquiry, and four months in drawing up his report. . . . It is a candid review of facts, collected with great diligence and fairness, — all the better because of the discriminating criticism with which it distinguishes the wise from the unwise, and because it appreciates right purposes and tendencies in this country, even when results are not yet satisfactory."— *N. A. Review*, cxxii. 195.

In consequence of recent educational discussions in England, much has been said there about American schools. Among the important works may be named a volume on *National Education*, by the Rev. J. H. Rigg, and one on the *American School System*, by F. Adams.

There are also schools of the same grade in Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, West Roxbury, and Brighton, which towns, by annexation, now belong to Boston.

The building recently erected on Warren Avenue and Montgomery Street, for our Latin and English High schools, deserves notice here, because it surpasses all others in this country in its magnitude, adaptation to its purposes, and the beauty of its construction.[1]

The building was dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, on March 1, 1881. Over the entrance to the Latin School is the following appropriate inscription: "HAEC STUDIA ADULESCENTIAM ALUNT, SENECTUTEM OBLECTANT, SECUNDAS RES ORNANT, ADVERSIS PERFUGIUM AC SOLACIUM PRAEBENT."

In 1852 the friends of a higher education for the graduates of our girls' grammar schools gave earnest attention to that subject. As the proposition to establish a high school for their benefit had met with unexpected opposition in times past, it was thought inexpedient to revive the controversy. As a substitute, it was proposed to institute a Normal School for female teachers, the advantages of which no one would be likely to question. Such a school was established, and Loring Lothrop, a gentleman eminently qualified, was elected head-master.

It was soon found, however, that girls fresh from the grammar schools were not fit candidates for normal training. To remedy this difficulty a few additional branches of study were introduced, a slight alteration made in the arrangement of the course, and the name changed to the "Girls' High and Normal School." Under this name it continued till 1872, when it was found that the normal element had been gradually absorbed by the high school, and had almost lost its independent, distinctive, and professional character. The two courses were then separated, and the normal department was restored to its original condition for the instruction of young women who intended to become teachers in our public schools of Boston. Larkin Dunton, LL.D., was then elected head-master, and still holds that position. The marked success of the school under his administration is good evidence of the wisdom shown in his election. Institutions of this class originated in Germany, and became so popular that they soon found their way into Holland, France, Switzerland, and more recently into England, being modified only so far as to adapt them to the circumstances of society and education in those countries. They were intended to make the business of school-teaching as much of a profession as that of law, medicine, or the-

[1] It is a double building, fronting on parallel streets. There are forty-seven class-rooms, with accommodations for sixteen hundred and forty-five pupils; an immense hall for military drill, a gymnasium, chemical laboratory, chambers for drawing, and two large halls; also libraries, reception rooms, and suites for janitors. A court-yard in the centre furnishes ample space for the scholars in their seasons of recreation. The whole cost, including furniture, was $780,000. For the architectural design and mechanical construction of this building credit is due to George A. Clough, the City Architect. Valuable suggestions in regard to some of its characteristic features were made by Superintendent J. D. Philbrick, as the result of his observations at the Universal Exposition at Vienna, in 1873.

ology, — a peculiar course of instruction being as necessary as for either of those.[1]

Our custom in electing teachers had been to examine them in the branches required to be taught, and to trust to Providence for their ability to teach what they knew. This course was objectionable, especially so in the case of elementary instruction, where the amount of knowledge required is small, and where the art of teaching finds its most difficult exercise. The idea that every one can teach what he knows is not reliable. This is evident from the fact that men and women of the highest intellectual attainments so often fail entirely in the capacity for interesting the young.[2]

Instead of depending on State institutions for normal instruction, Boston decided to have one exclusively her own. The pupils would then be daughters of our own citizens, with their homes and affections here; they would be graduates of our public schools, familiar with their organization and methods of instruction; more than all, they would be fitted for the work in which they were to engage. The course of study includes the departments of physiology, psychology, logic, ethics, principles of education, methods of instruction, school management, observation and practical training exercises, — the instruction in all these departments having special reference to teaching. Pupils are supposed to know something of physiology and hygiene before entering the school; but there is a view of them not absolutely required for ordinary life, but indispensable for the teacher, — such as the limits of the powers of children, the conditions of growth and health, the necessity for rest and sleep, the means of securing these, and many other details of this nature. The three divisions of psychology, treating of the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will, are studied in the order here named, which is the order of their dependence.

This institution has already accomplished an important work, and gives promise of a beneficent future. It is not unreasonable to expect that the United States, with their one hundred and forty normal schools, will before many years refuse to accept any but trained teachers. Germany has set us the example.[3]

[1] There are now in Germany 168 of such schools; France, 86; Great Britain, 48; Italy, 115; Belgium, 32, etc. Massachusetts adopted them as State institutions because many of the best friends of public education believed that something of the kind was needed to infuse new life and vigor into our common schools, — thus recognizing the central principle of the Prussian system, "as is the teacher, so is the school;" and that as competent teachers cannot have bad schools, the incompetent cannot have good ones.

[2] Coleridge says to the teacher, "Love, hope, and patience, — these must be thy graces, and in thine own heart let them first keep school."

[3] Candidates for admission must be at least eighteen years of age, unless an exception is made by a special vote of the committee in charge, and must be recommended for admission by the master or committee of the last school they attended. Those who have completed the fourth year of the High School course are admitted without examination. Other candidates must show to the head-master, both by examination and recommendation, that they are qualified. All pupils are put on probation for six months; if proved unsuitable in the opinion of the supervisors and head-master, they are discharged. Of the one hundred and two who entered last year, only fifty-eight graduated. When teachers are to be employed in the public schools, graduates of this school have the preference, other things being equal. It numbers among its graduates of the past six years more than two hundred of the

At the time of the establishment of our High School for boys, there seemed to be no thought of a similar one for girls. The customs of our ancestors had not taught us the justice or the wisdom of giving equal advantages in education to both sexes. Even in the grammar schools our girls were for many years (1784–1828) kept in the background and allowed but half the time given to boys. The first high school for girls was begun in 1825, not, however, without great opposition. Popular feeling was clearly against such an institution, and it was only at the earnest request of some of our most prominent and influential citizens that the "experiment," for so its opponents chose to call it, was made. Ebenezer Bailey, an experienced and successful teacher, was elected principal, with the understanding that the school should be on the monitorial system, the studies to be such as are usually required in such institutions. The number of applicants for admission was very large, of whom one hundred and thirty-five were accepted. The experience of the first year was so satisfactory that the "experiment" was continued until 1827, when the committee became alarmed at the prospective expense of the annually increasing number of scholars, and abandoned what promised to be of great benefit to the educational interests of our citizens. None of its opponents claimed that it had not fully answered their expectations. Apparently, indeed, it was discontinued for the singular reason that it had been too successful, its popularity having been so great that all classes of our citizens were seeking the advantages it offered for their daughters. What in these days would be considered a good reason for sustaining such an institution was then considered sufficient for closing it.[1]

The origin of the present High School for girls has already been told in our account of the Normal School. It began its life under good auspices, and from first to last has had the confidence and approval of those most competent to judge of its merits. Apparently the prejudice against this class of schools no longer exists.[2]

Primarily as an aid to health, but incidentally as of value in the art of oral reading, vocal culture has been introduced in connection with the regular calisthenic exercises in every class. To facilitate and encourage an acquaintance with the best literature, to promote skill in reading aloud, and to familiarize the older students with the rules and usages of parliamentary assemblies, a literary society has been formed from members of the advanced class, its work being incorporated with that of the school. At its weekly meetings every member, except the officers, must be prepared to read selected passages from a prominent author, designated by the society's vote several weeks previously. From these and other works of the author

Boston teachers, — more than one sixth of all the teachers in the service of the city, — while the relative proportion of Normal graduates appointed is constantly increasing.

[1] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Candidates for admission must be at least fourteen years of age. The course of study is arranged for two years, those who have completed it being allowed to continue their studies two years in an advanced class. The sessions are from 9 A.M. to 2 P.M.

pieces are selected by the executive committee, to be read with appropriate essays in presence of the whole school once in two weeks, by good readers appointed from every class by the president in concurrence with the class teachers.

Great stress is laid upon the training to secure physical strength and grace, and the rule is rigidly enforced requiring the whole of the mental work to be completed as a condition of promotion or graduation. To make the office of instruction more pleasant and effective, effort has been made to assign to every teacher her favorite branch, and so far as possible to reduce to one or two the number of studies taught by each. The instruction is therefore nearly departmental.[1] The building which the school occupies is remarkably well adapted to its purposes. The capacity is for one thousand two hundred and twenty-five pupils. In the hall are arranged a valuable collection of casts, as a simple but efficient means of introducing an æsthetic element into our educational system.[2]

The Girl's High School is one of our most successful institutions, popular among our citizens, and always making a favorable impression upon the many foreigners who visit our city.

[1] The school is in charge of a head-master, a junior master, and as many assistants (ladies) as circumstances may require, allowing one teacher to every thirty-five scholars. Regular meetings of the teachers are held, at which methods of instruction and kindred topics are discussed. The head-master of the school is Homer B. Sprague, Ph.D., a graduate of Yale College. He is assisted at present by a corps of twenty-two teachers.

[2] These casts were obtained by subscriptions of members of the American Social Science Association and others, through the influence of Charles C. Perkins, Esq., whose interest and efficient aid in the improvement of our schools have been so often shown. The following is a list of the casts: 1. Frieze of the Parthenon (British Museum). From models by Phidias and his pupils. The date is about 435 B.C. It represents the great procession on the last day of the national festival called Panathenæa. 2. Caryatid (British Museum). One of six figures supporting the southern portico of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis at Athens, and brought thence to England by Lord Elgin in 1814. 3. Diana (Louvre). Known as Diana of Gabii, because discovered in the ruins of that city near Rome, in the year 1792. Also called Atalanta. 4. Venus (Louvre). Called of Milo (the ancient Melos), where it was found in 1820. 5. Polymnia (Louvre). Found in Italy, and restored at Rome by a sculptor of that city, near the beginning of the present century. 6. Pudicitia (Vatican). Found in the Villa Mattei at Rome. Also called the Tragic Muse, and supposed to be a portrait of the Empress Livia. 7. Amazon (Capitoline Museum). Found in the Villa Mattei. 8. Genius of the Vatican. Found near Rome about a century ago. Thought by some to be a Cupid, and a copy of a celebrated work by Praxiteles; by others the Genius of Death, as frequently figured on Roman sarcophagi. 9. Psyche (Naples Museum). Found in the amphitheatre at Capua. 10. Demosthenes (Vatican). 11. Bone-Player (Berlin Museum). The following are busts: 12. Apollo (Archaic; British Museum). 13. Apollo (Pourtales; British Museum). 14. Zeus Trophonius (Louvre). 15. Jupiter (Vatican). Found at Otricoli, about forty miles from Rome. Of all known heads of the god this is considered the most Phidian in type. 16. Juno (Villa Ludovisi, Rome). This head probably formed part of a colossal statue, the work of a Greek sculptor, in the fourth century B.C. 17. Pallas (Louvre). Styled of Velletri, because the statue to which this belongs was found there in 1797. 18. Bacchus (Young; Capitoline). 19. Æsculapius (British Museum). Found in the Island of Milo in 1828, and supposed to have been executed about 300 B.C. 20. Homer (Capitoline). 21. Pericles (Vatican). 22. Augustus (Young; Vatican). The frieze of the Parthenon was the gift of James M. Barnard, who was the first to propose this appropriate decoration, and by his sympathy and enthusiasm encouraged it at every step. The original, executed in marble by Phidias and his pupils 435 B.C., was a band encircling the body of the Parthenon, and was elevated about thirty feet from the ground. At the school its position is reversed, and it encircles the inside of the hall.

There is no other large city where the children of all classes, in respect to social condition, are so generally educated in public schools.[1]

Early in the year 1877 a number of ladies, interested in the success of the young women pursuing their studies in Boston University, met at the house of Mrs. William Claflin, to organize a society, now known as the Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women. After many interesting addresses had been made, the subject of the preliminary training of girls for college was presented by Mr. Henry F. Durant, who urged that a reformation be begun at once, and in the city of Boston; that the Public Latin School should be open to girls; that to withhold these privileges from their parents, taxpayers in this city, was a legal and a moral wrong. Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, whose interest in public education has been shown in many ways,[2] advocated with earnestness the claims of our girls for classical education; remarking that they had been excluded from the High Schools until 1852, and were still excluded from the only public Latin School. Mrs. I. Tisdale Talbot, Mrs. James T. Fields, and Miss Florence M. Cushing were appointed a committee to bring the subject before the city authorities. In doing so they had the valuable aid of James Freeman Clarke, D.D., John D. Runkle, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Robert D. Smith, Esq. The committee based their claim that the girls should share with the boys the privileges of the Latin School upon the traditions and statutes of the Commonwealth, which have always, by general orders or special enactments, provided for public instruction in Latin and Greek, in such terms as the following: "to instruct *all* children;" "to instruct *youth* so far that they may be fitted for the University;" "a school shall be sustained for the benefit of *all* the inhabitants, for which a teacher shall be hired to give instruction in Latin and Greek." The committee stated that the only limit, from the year 1647 to 1877, to the benefits of this free instruction in the classics was that of population. The general public being in ignorance of these laws, the committee took pains through the press to state the facts, and, by showing the ordinances and statutes as well as by discussion, created such an interest that the newspapers, with hardly an exception, made common cause with this little knot of energetic parents and friends of equal rights. A petition, asking that girls might be admitted to the public Latin School, was circulated, and received many thousand signatures. This petition was presented to the School Board, and by them re-

[1] The late Superintendent of Schools, John D. Philbrick, in one of his reports says: "When Lady Amberly, a most intelligent and accomplished woman, who belonged to a high rank in the English aristocracy, visited our Girls' High School, she was struck with the fine appearance of the pupils, not physically, but intellectually; and in respect to their lady-like carriage and air of good breeding, she inquired if they were not all from the more wealthy classes. The headmaster told her that the poor and well-to-do were alike represented; and pointing to two pupils promenading together, said: 'One of those girls is the daughter of a merchant, and the other of a working-man.' She replied, 'I really see no difference in their appearance.' Before leaving she got the assent of her reticent husband, the son of Lord John Russell, to her idea that if they had a daughter, that school would be the best place for her education." This feature in our school system has been often favorably noticed.

[2] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter. — Ed.]

ferred to the Committee on High Schools. Before reaching any decision, that committee held public meetings, and the subject was discussed by many of our most influential citizens. It was shown that while Boston had offered the most ample facilities for the preparation of boys for college, nothing had been done for our girls who desired the classical training required by colleges open to women. This was admitted to be a discrimination against one sex as unwise as it was unjust. In the discussion, which represented the opinions of many eminent professional men, no opposition was made to the preparation of girls for college; but there was great difference of opinion in regard to the expediency of their becoming members of the existing preparatory school. Superintendent J. D. Philbrick and others opposed it with great earnestness, and advocated the establishment of a distinct school.

The final decision of the committee was to institute a Girls' Latin School, under the direction of a principal having the rank of master, with as many assistants as the exigencies of the school might require. In January, 1878, Mr. John Tetlow, A. M., a graduate of Brown University, an eminent scholar and teacher, was elected principal.[1] Public opinion sustained the action of the School Board in establishing this institution, probably the only one of the kind in New England. As the so-called "Annex" at Cambridge, an organization established for the collegiate education of women, had adopted the same requisitions for admission that are established at Harvard University, it was found practicable to arrange, on the basis of these requisitions, a six years' course of study which should be equally well adapted to both public Latin Schools. Accordingly, the Boys' Latin School and the Girls' Latin School have now the same standard of admission, the same course of study, and the same diploma examination as a test of fitness for collegiate instruction.

At the first examination for admission there were forty-one applicants, of whom thirty-one were accepted. About three fourths of these evidently came with an earnest desire to secure the best and speediest preparation possible for college. The remaining one fourth were probably attracted by the novelty of the experiment, or came because they were for some reason dissatisfied with their surroundings in the schools with which they had been previously connected. All, however, brought from their parents certificates declaring that they intended to enter some college after completing the established course of study here. In 1880 the number of applicants for admission was eighty-four, of whom sixty were accepted. The whole number now in the school is one hundred and forty-eight, and the average attendance has been one hundred and forty-five.[2] The school, therefore,

[1] On the 12th of the following month the school was opened for regular class instruction. Brief addresses were made by Honorable Charles L. Flint, chairman, and Miss Abby W. May, secretary of the High School committee; by Miss Lucretia Crocker, of the Board of Supervisors; and by the Principal of the school.

[2] In less than three years, therefore, from the organization of this school, the number of pupils had increased from thirty-one to one hundred and forty-eight, notwithstanding the fact that from one fourth to one third of the applicants at successive examinations had been rejected.

may be fairly said to have passed beyond the stage of experiment, and to have become a recognized part of the Boston school system. It can no longer be urged that there is no demand in the community for a classical education for girls.[1]

The Horace Mann School for the Deaf was established in 1869 by the Boston School Committee, in co-operation with the State Board of Education, as a day-school for deaf children over five years of age. Mr. Mann, when he was secretary of that board, in one of his annual reports (1843) described the German method of teaching articulation to the deaf, and urged its adoption in this country. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, when addressing a committee of the State Legislature, said it took twenty years for this suggestion to bear fruit; but its importance is now universally admitted, and it seems eminently fitting to associate with this school, sustained in part by State funds, the name it now bears, since it is included in the public educational system of Massachusetts for the improvement of which Horace Mann labored so earnestly.[2] The school is designed to give an elementary English education; but as a preparation for this it must first impart the meaning and use of ordinary language. It aims to teach all its pupils to speak, and read the speech of others from their lips.[3] Deaf children are able to pursue a course of study similar to that prescribed for our public schools; but the starting point is different and the progress necessarily slow, as the deaf child must spend five or six years in acquiring much that the hearing child learns without effort before leaving the nursery. The mental powers of the deaf are developed by the same methods that are successful in the education of those who can hear. That dumbness is naturally attendant upon deafness is a fallacy happily disappearing. Sewing is the only branch of industrial training taught in the school; but the principal, Miss Sarah Fuller, interests herself in obtaining for her pupils, out of school hours, opportunities for that practical training which shall prepare them for the varied duties of life.[4]

[1] The last graduating class contained six members, all of whom entered Smith College. A letter from President Seelye, after speaking in complimentary terms of all the class, says that one of them had taken the prize of two hundred dollars, awarded to the student who was best prepared for college. The number admitted to Smith College this year was about seventy.

[2] [A statue of Horace Mann, moulded by Emma Stebbins, and paid for by subscriptions among the teachers and school children of the State, stands in the State House grounds. Horace Mann was born in 1796, and died in 1859. His life has been written by Mary Mann, his widow. He became a resident of Boston in 1836. — Ed.]

[3] From reports of twenty-six institutions in our country, it appears that the sign language is taught in all, while fifteen employ also articulation teachers; and three — the Institution for the Improved Instruction of Deaf-Mutes of New York, the Clarke Institution for Deaf-Mutes at Northampton, Massachusetts, and the Horace Mann School for the Deaf (formerly the Boston Day School for Deaf-Mutes) — make articulation a specialty. The schools in our country are not limited to either system, but endeavor to take advantage of both.

[4] In March, 1880, six girls entered a class at the Boston Cooking School for a course of twelve lessons. With some assistance from one of their teachers, who always accompanied them, these girls were able to understand and to follow the directions given as intelligently as the other members of the class. The school is allowed a principal and as many assistants as may be required, not exceeding one teacher for every ten scholars.

Pupils over five years of age are admitted free, in accordance with an act passed by the Legislature of 1869.[1]

At the close of the school year of 1880 there were seventy-nine pupils, — forty-six girls and thirty-three boys. Of this number twenty were from towns in the vicinity of Boston, and three from other States. There is a corps of nine teachers.[2]

The Eliot School in Jamaica Plain is an endowed institution, free for children residing there.[3] The first donation "for the use of a school only to the inhabitants of Jamaica" came from John Ruggles, who gave that triangular piece of land on which the soldiers' monument now stands.[4] The deed of conveyance is dated Oct. 16, 1676. Early in the same year Hugh Thomas and Clement his wife proposed to the people at the Jamaica end of the town to make over to them their house, orchard, home-lot, and night-pasture, provided they would agree to take care of and provide for them, in sickness and health, during their lives, and decently inter them after their death. This proposition was accepted, and the property conveyed to John Weld, Edward Morris, and John Watson as trustees. The agreement was signed by twenty-five inhabitants, and the said Thomas conveyed all his real estate by deed, dated April 7, 1677, and by assignment all the real estate of his nephew, John Roberts, which was conveyed to him by the will of said Roberts a short time previous; also by another assignment, in 1681, all his bills, bonds, legacies, etc.

In 1693 John Watson gave three acres of salt marsh, Mrs. Gurnal six

[1] "The Governor, with the approval of the Board of Education, is hereby authorized to send such deaf-mutes or deaf children as he may deem fit subjects for instruction, at the expense of the Commonwealth, to the American Asylum at Hartford, to the Clarke Institution for Deaf-Mutes at Northampton [or any other school for deaf-mutes in this Commonwealth], as the parents or guardians may prefer."

[2] "The National Deaf-Mute College at Washington is doing excellent work in all its departments. It has already furnished well-trained deaf-mutes to several of the State institutions, in which elementary and secondary instruction is given. This co-ordination in the responsibility of deaf-mute instruction is having a beneficial effect upon the several institutions engaged in the work."—*Report of Commissioner of Education*, published in 1879.

[3] Its origin may be shown by an extract from its ancient records:—

"Having by sad experience been sensible of the great damage in education, or rather in the want of the means of education, of children occasioned by the remoteness of our habitations from the school at town, and also by the experience of a year's trial, having been somewhat informed what a great blessing a school among ourselves may be to us and to our posterity, as it has made us to thirst after it, so also, according to our poor abilities, it hath caused us to endeavor the attainment of the same. To which end, we whose names are underwritten do oblige ourselves and our estates for the annual payment of our respective subscriptions for the space of twelve years from the date of these presents, for the procurement and payment of a master that shall undertake said work, and teach all such children as shall be sent unto him by the subscribers. And the values of our subscriptions are to be discharged, for the use of said master, at or before the 25th day of March yearly; and the place where the school is agreed upon to be kept is between William Davis's and Nathaniel Gane's.

"To the performance of every and particular premises before named we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators, subscribing our names this second day of October, 1676.

"The sums according to subscription to be made in corn, the half Indian and the other half English, at the current prices among us."

This subscription was signed by thirty-eight of the inhabitants. The highest sum subscribed by an individual was one pound, the lowest two shillings, and the whole amount was £14 11*s*.

[4] In front of the meeting-house of the third Parish.

pounds, and Mrs. Mead seven pounds, in money, for the "Jamaica or Pond School." On July 10, 1689, Rev. John Eliot conveyed by deed about seventy-five acres of land to John Weld, John Gore, John Watson, and Samuel Gore, and to their heirs successively forever, in trust, "for the maintenance, support, and encouragement of a school, and school-master, at that part of said Roxbury commonly called Jamaica, or Pond Plain, for the teaching and instructing of the children of that end of the town (together with such negroes or Indians[1] as may or shall come to said school), and to no other use, intent, or purpose, under any color or pretence whatever."

In 1727 Joseph Weld, the only survivor of this body of men (which, according to Mr. Eliot, was to last forever), petitioned the Legislature to appoint three other persons as trustees, with power to fill vacancies. The petition was granted, and Nathaniel Brewer, Jr., Caleb Stedman, and John Weld were joined with the memorialist as trustees. In this appointment an unwise condition was made, by which each piece of property was placed under special members of the board. This in course of time produced so much embarrassment, that in 1804 an act was passed incorporating seven men trustees of the Eliot school, with power to fill vacancies by the election of freeholders in that section of the town. In 1818 Mrs. Abigail Brewer bequeathed to the trustees sixteen acres of land adjoining the estate of the late Dr. John Warren, the income to be applied for the instruction of girls, children of the inhabitants of the third parish in Roxbury. In 1831 the trustees erected the brick school-house on Eliot Street, which would accommodate two hundred pupils. The upper room was occupied by a primary school, supported by the town. The grammar department was taught in the lower room, and was entirely under the control of the trustees.

From March 31, 1834, to 1842, the trustees and school committee had a united supervision of the Eliot school. More recently a proposition was made to place the girls in one building under the supervision of the trustees, and the boys in another under that of the town. This proposition was accepted. Previous to this time the income of the Eliot fund had been applied to the education of children in the common English studies. The sale of some lands having increased the income considerably, the Eliot school became a high school in connection with the Roxbury city schools. After the annexation of West Roxbury to Boston, the trustees dissolved their connection with the city, and re-opened the school on Eliot Street, where it was formerly taught. It is still substantially a high school, with an elementary department, free for both sexes, and under the control of the trustees exclusively. The head-master is D. S. Smalley.

Five years after the settlement of Charlestown, it would appear from the employment of Mr. William Witherell,[2] that a public school — and, judging

[1] [Various papers touching the education of the Indians will be found in a transcript from manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, entitled "Papers relating to the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," in Harvard College Library. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 397. Oldmixon, in his history, calls Charlestown the mother of Boston. — Ed.]

from the salary, a free school at least for a "twelve-month" — was established there on the principle of voluntary taxation, being eleven years prior to the law of Massachusetts compelling towns to maintain schools. The General Court, Sept. 8, 1636, granted Lovell's Island to the town, "provided they employ it for fishing by their own townsmen, or hinder not others." This island was rented, and the income applied to the support of the school. Jan. 20, 1647, the records say "it was agreed that a rate of fifteen pounds should be gathered of the town towards the school for this year, and the five pounds that Major Sedgwick is to pay this year (for the Island) for the school; also the town's part of the Mistick weir for the school forever." In 1661 Ezekiel Cheever took charge of the town school. Five years later he petitioned the selectmen "that they would take care that his yearly salary be paid, the constables being much behind with him." Also putting them in mind of their promise at his first coming to town, — "that no other schoolmaster should be suffered to set up in the town so long as he could teach the same. Yet Mr. Mansfield is suffered to teach and take away his scholars." There is no mention of a school-house until 1648, when one was ordered to be built on "Windmill Hill," and paid for by "a general rate."

From an order (Jan. 12, 1666,) it appears that as "many of our youths were guilty of rude and irreverent carriage in the times of the public ordinances of praying and preaching on the Lord's Day," it was commanded to all the inhabitants to further their cheerful endeavors by sitting in turn before the youths' pew during the morning and evening exercise; and "it is our joint expectation, that all youths under fifteen years of age, unless on grounded exception by us, do constantly sit in some one of those three pews made purposely for them, except Mr. Cheever's scholars, who are required to sit orderly and constantly in the pews appointed to them together." In 1671 Benjamin Thompson, a celebrated teacher, was engaged to keep the Town School.[1] He retained the charge of the Charlestown school until Nov. 7, 1674, when the selectmen gave "Mr. Samuel Phipps of this town a call to the work," and of the events of his day some record has been made in another chapter.[2]

The Industrial School for Girls, now established in Dorchester,[3] was opened in 1853. Its object was to remove from their miserable homes children whose circumstances surrounded them with temptations, and whose education furnished them with no means of resistance; to train them to good personal habits; to instruct them in household labor; and to exert a

[1] On the following terms: —

1. That he shall be paid thirty pounds per annum by the town, and receive twenty shillings a year from each particular scholar that he shall teach, to be paid by those who send children to him to school.

2. That he shall propose such youth as are capable of it for college, with learning answerable.

3. That he shall teach to read, write, and cipher.

4. That there shall be half a year's mutual notice by him and the town, before any change or remove on either side.

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 397; also for later events, Vol. II. p. 320. — Ed.]

[3] Previously in Winchester.

moral influence and discipline over them which should fit them to be faithful and efficient in domestic service, or any other probable mode of gaining their own livelihood. It is an incorporated institution, Miss Annette P. Rogers being its President, and Mrs. Theodore Lyman, Vice-President. We have many institutions strongly armed and appointed for the punishment of evil doers. The object of this school is to prevent evil; to cut off some of the sources of our jails and houses of correction; to apply prevention to evils of which the cure remains among the problems still unsolved.[1] Two hundred and five girls have been admitted since the beginning of the school. The number may appear small, but it must be remembered that this is not a temporary home, but one in which a girl's stay is from one to eight years; and as the house accommodates but thirty, the number of those admitted must depend on the number sent out, and that on the ability of the girls to earn their own living, or the capacity of relatives to provide homes for them. The Industrial School is supported by voluntary contribution. According to the last printed report there were one hundred and ninety contributors.

In addition to the educational institutions before mentioned, the city sustains many special schools. Of these there are eleven elementary evening schools, an evening high school, four evening drawing schools, and two schools for licensed minors.[2]

An absurd charge is sometimes raised against our public schools that they are "godless and immoral." The charge comes mainly from those who think that religion should be taught in them, meaning too often religion as viewed through their denominational spectacles. They would have sectarian instruction, which very wisely is forbidden. In the early days of the colony, when the people were of one faith in religious affairs, they did not hesitate to teach that faith in the schools and colleges; but the rapid growth of the Catholics since that time has been accompanied by strong protests against the prevalence of Protestant instruction, and unquestionably the tendency is now to exclude from the schools all religious teaching. Indeed, so much in earnest are we in this matter that many of our most influential citizens are opposed even to the reading of the Bible in our schools,

[1] "On the ground of *prevention*," says the last report, "we rest our claim to public favor and support. Help us that we may extinguish the sparks which surely kindle a flaming ruin! Money brings more than money's worth when it is made definitely serviceable to purifying and strengthening a child's character, and educating the probable outcast into an upright and industrious woman."

[2] For some of these there is no express legal provision, but it has been well established that a municipality may go beyond the requirements of the law in making provisions for schools, and that the legal power is not restricted by the legal obligation. Horace Mann says: "It is now decided by the highest judicial tribunal in the Commonwealth, that the statute only expresses the minimum of time and of quality below which the schools shall never be suffered to fall; but that it allows any town to rise as high above this lowest limit as, in its discretion, fairly and honestly exercised, it may deem best. This conclusion was deemed to be a fair inference from the language of the law, confirmed by long usage, and demanded by the necessities of a Republican government."

because the Catholic children would be required to read one version of the Scriptures in the schools and another in their churches.

But are the results of our free-school instruction "godless and immoral"? Recent statistics taken in Massachusetts show that eighty per cent of its crime is committed by those who have had no education, or a very imperfect one; that a still larger proportion have learned no trade; and that nearly seventy-five per cent of its criminals are of foreign birth. Intemperance, the natural resource of ignorance, is the parent of the greater part of this crime, and ninety-five per cent of it is hereditary from homes of vice and ignorance.

In our common schools there are no class distinctions, ecclesiastical control, or social limitations. The pupils come from the humblest, as well as from the most refined and wealthy families. We see the influence of these schools in all our social system. It teaches equality and republican principles; it creates the reading public; it has produced a throng of readers such as was never known before, — countless and never satisfied. Of the 1,200,000 books taken from our Public Library in 1880, three fourths were taken by children of our public schools.[1] The trustees of this institution have printed six broadsides, headed "Lists of Books prepared for the use of Pupils in the Public Schools," and have supplied these in sufficient quantity to furnish each high and grammar class-room with a set. Dr. Samuel Eliot, late Superintendent of our Public Schools, says in one of his admirable reports: —

"These books range from stories for the very young up to works of literature, science, and art for advanced pupils, and the teachers generally. Here we have reading in abundance; we know what to read and where to find it. The library stands ready to supply it to any reasonable extent, not only at the central building, but at the branches, and therefore within easy reach of all the schools. More beneficent service could not be rendered to public education. It will give breadth to our studies, impulse to our students, and fill in the outlines of our whole system with living spirit. We have been walking, as it were, between walls which limited the view before us to a point, and shut out that on either side altogether. Now the path opens, and the prospect widens, and we see the land about us and the sky above us; for we are under the guidance not of a few half-blind text books, but of the open-eyed master-

[1] This is the estimate of the librarian. The average monthly circulation of books from the Boston Public Library is one hundred and three thousand volumes, and six hundred periodicals. In this estimate is not included the very large number consulted or read at the library, which averages one thousand per month.

The periodicals printed in the United States nearly equal those of all the rest of the educated world. In 1870 it was estimated that seven thousand six hundred and forty-two were published in Europe, Asia, and Africa; in our country, five thousand eight hundred and seventy-one. Since that time our publications have increased nearly to an equality with those of all the world besides; and our forty-five millions of people read as much, perhaps, as all the rest of the hundreds of millions upon the globe. It is estimated that the number of copies of newspapers and periodicals printed in Great Britain in 1870 was 350,000,000, and an equal number in France. The census returns show that in the same year 1,500,000,000 copies were printed in the United States. This shows how closely the progress of a demand for newspapers is connected with the advance of the common schools.

pieces of human knowledge. If we are not, it is no longer our misfortune, but our fault. The library offers it. Shall we not accept it?"

In the preceding pages we have endeavored to give some account of the rise and progress of the free schools of Boston.[1] All of them, excepting the Roxbury Latin School, the Eliot School at Jamaica Plain, and the Industrial School for girls in Dorchester, are under the control of our school committee. We now propose to give brief sketches of other educational institutions, which, though not schools, contribute largely to the intellectual growth of our community. Some of them bear a State or national name, but they are all identified with Boston. They were founded in that city; their officers, members, libraries, places of meeting, etc. are all there.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences. — This institution, although bearing a national name, is essentially a Boston one. The objects contemplated in founding it were, as stated in the act of incorporation, May 4, 1780, "to promote and encourage a knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country; to determine the uses to which its various natural productions may be applied; to promote and

[1] The following School Census will show their condition in May, 1880:—

Number of children in Boston between the ages of 5 and 15	57,703
Number attending public schools	45,650
Number attending private schools	6,326
Number not attending school	5,727

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries of Officers	$53,679.71
Salaries of Teachers	1,108,578.87

INCIDENTAL EXPENSES.

By Committee on Public Buildings	$98,514.84
By School Committee	254,593.89
School-houses and lots	136,878.45

SUMMARY, JUNE, 1880.

General Schools.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	Average No. of Pupils belonging.	Average Attendance.	Ave'ge Absence.	Per cent of Attendance.	No. at date.
Normal	1	4	72	71	1	98	61
Latin and High	10	91	1,971	1,854	117	94	1,813
Grammar	49	620	27,734	24,987	2,747	90	26,057
Primary	406	406	20,730	17,890	2,840	86	21,144
Totals	466	1,121	50,507	44,802	5,705	88.7	49,075

Special Schools.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	Average No. of Pupils belonging.	Average Attendance.	Ave'ge Absence.	Per cent of Attendance.	No. at date.
Horace Mann	1	9	80	65	15	81	79
Licensed Minors	2	2	63	52	11	80	83
Evening High	1	10	403	153	..	....	.
Evening	16	110	1,615	948	....	.....	.....
Evening Drawing	6	17	672	299	.....	.....	....
Totals	26	148	2,833	1,517	.	.	.

encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical inquiries and experiments; astronomical, meteorological, and geographical observations; and improvements in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce." These subjects cover a wide field. How successfully it has been occupied may be seen in the elaborate and stately volumes published by the Academy. These furnish valuable contributions to science and art from the most eminent scholars of our time.

In the list of incorporated members we find the honored names of Adams (Samuel and John), Bowdoin, Chauncy, Cushing, Dalton, Dana, Gardner, Hancock, Holyoke, Jackson, Warren, Wigglesworth, Willard, and Winthrop. The Academy had a distinguished origin, and has sustained and still holds an eminent position among the learned societies of the world. It is favorably known among its peers, if less known in the city and community in which its quiet operations have been carried on. It has promoted investigation; it has published at its own expense nearly thirty volumes of *Memoirs* and *Proceedings*, and most of its publications are original contributions to science in the broadest sense, and to the liberal and useful arts. Increasing its activity with the increase of scientific men and earnest students in this vicinity, its published results have become more and more numerous, as well as more valuable; and for several years past it has brought out a yearly volume of researches.

Among the past Presidents of the Academy, we find such men as Governor Bowdoin; John and John Quincy Adams; Edward Holyoke, the eminent physician and surgeon; Nathaniel Bowditch, known to science by his translation of the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place; James Jackson, whom Thomas Fuller might have taken as a pattern in his portrait of the beloved physician; John Pickering, one of the chief founders of American comparative philology; Jacob Bigelow, whose medical wisdom and genial wit none who knew him can forget; Asa Gray, the eminent botanist; and Charles Francis Adams, the third representative of a family whose name will always be associated with our national history. The Academy is the administrator of a responsible trust, founded by Count Rumford,[1] for the advancement of the knowledge of light and heat, and of their practical applications. It has also accumulated a library of special richness in the departments of physics, chemistry, technology, and mathematics, and in the transactions of the learned societies with which it corresponds. It is the oldest institution of the kind in America, excepting the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. That was initiated by Franklin and others before the beginning of the war for Independence; this was inaugurated before the close of that war. The centennial anniversary of the Academy, in May of last year, was a memorable occasion; delegates from the most distinguished societies in Europe and America were present, and among them many whose fame is limited only by civilization. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop presided at the exercises, held in the Old South Church. Said Mr. Winthrop, referring to Franklin's baptism in this church: —

"Where else so appropriately could American art and science repair for the celebration of their own birth, their own small beginnings, their own infant lispings, as to the cradle and the christening font of our great Bostonian? If indeed, my friends, we had a second day to spare for our celebration, it might well be occupied in an excursion to the birthplace and early home of another Massachusetts Benjamin, — Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, the great benefactor of this Academy and the founder of the Royal Institution in London, — such an excursion as Tyndall took pains to make a few years ago,

[1] Among its recent publications we find the *Complete Works of Count Rumford*, 8°., 1870, edited by a committee of the Academy; also a *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, with Notices of his Daughter*, by George E. Ellis, 8°., 1871.

in token of his reverence for the memory of the great American philosopher of light and heat. . . . Could the founders of this Academy even now look down from the skies, as we may hope they may be permitted to look down to-day, upon our own little State of Massachusetts and our own little city of Boston, with what rapture would they behold, encircling this Academy as their original nucleus, their primal nebula, if I may so speak, a Natural History Society, with its manifold and growing collections and cabinets; a Technological Institute, with its admirable curriculum of scientific education; a splendid Museum of the Fine Arts; an Observatory, with its comet seekers and transit instruments, and with its noble refractor; the chemical laboratory of Professor Cooke; the garden and herbarium of our great botanist, Dr. Gray; the magnificent Agassiz Museum of Comparative Zoology, where an accomplished son is so nobly carrying on the cherished work of his ever-honored and lamented father; and, close at its side, the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, and all our thriving associations of horticulture and agriculture; and, better than all, the hosts of busy and devoted students in these and other institutions, who are engaged, day by day and night by night, in searching out the mysteries of Nature, and extorting from her so many of the secrets which have been hid from all human eyes and all human conceptions from the foundation of the world! They would be convinced that there was, indeed, such a process as Evolution, though I think they would be content, as some of their descendants still are, to call it by the good old-fashioned name of *development*. They would certainly concur in the idea that their little Academy had furnished, or fallen upon, a plentiful supply of protoplasm, though I have great faith that they would cling tenaciously to the simpler and more euphonious word — *germ*."

The present officers of the Academy are: Joseph Lovering, LL.D., President; Oliver Wendell Holmes, M.D., LL.D., Vice-President; Josiah Parsons Cooke, A.M., Corresponding Secretary; John Trowbridge, S.D., Recording Secretary; Theodore Lyman, S.B., Treasurer; Samuel Hubbard Scudder, A.M., Librarian.

Lowell Institute. — For the foundation of this beneficent institution, which for forty years has contributed so largely to our intellectual progress and gratification, Boston is indebted to John Lowell, Jr., son of Francis C. Lowell, from whom our great manufacturing city takes its name. He was a gentleman of refined taste, extensive reading, and in scholarship far above the common standard. He belonged to a family whose members for more than a century have been among the most honored in our community.[1] The state of his health and a passionate fondness for travelling induced him to spend many years abroad, and to visit the most distant parts of the world. Before leaving this country he executed a will, by which he left one half of his property to found and sustain courses of free lectures on specified subjects, to be delivered in Boston, his native city. In the ancient city of Thebes he wrote a supplementary codicil, giving more definite instructions for the successful accomplishment of the object contemplated in his will. By these instructions his kinsman, John Amory Lowell, a gentleman widely known and honored, was appointed sole trustee of the property bequeathed, amounting to nearly a quarter of a million dollars.[2]

[1] [See Mr. Morse's chapter in this volume. A *Memoir of John Lowell, Jr.*, by Edward Everett, Boston, 1840, was reprinted in 1879. — Ed.]

[2] This was a sum larger than was ever given in this country for the endowment of a literary institution, with the single exception of Mr. Girard's bequest to the city of Philadelphia. Within one year after assuming the office assigned to him, the trustee was expected to file a sealed paper in the archives of the Boston Athenæum, in which he should state his successor in the trust, and, while this appointment might be changed, some name unknown to all but the trustee in charge must always be so deposited. The trustee so appointed must be a lineal descendant of the Lowell family, and

Two courses of lectures were contemplated, — the first to be absolutely free to all cleanly-dressed and well-behaved persons, upon subjects relating to natural and revealed religion, physics, chemistry, botany, zoölogy, geology, mineralogy, philology, literature, and eloquence; the second relating to more erudite and particular subjects, and to which an admission fee "no more than the value of two bushels of wheat" should be charged, though from this last course even no person should be excluded on account of poverty. The following, among other instructions, are transmitted by Mr. Lowell, to his trustee. They are characteristic of the writer's wisdom and philanthropy: —

"As the most certain and the most important part of true philosophy appears to me to be that which shows the connection between God's revelations and the knowledge of good and evil implanted by him in our nature, I wish a course of lectures to be given on natural religion, showing its conformity to that of our Saviour.

"For the more perfect demonstration of the truth of those moral and religious precepts by which alone, as I believe, men can be secure of happiness in this world and that to come, I wish a course of lectures to be delivered on the historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity. I wish all disputed points of faith and ceremony to be avoided, and the attention of the lecturers to be directed to the moral doctrines of the gospel, stating their opinions, but not engaging in controversy, even on the subject of the penalty for disobedience.

"As the prosperity of my native land, New England, which is sterile and unproductive, must depend hereafter, as it has heretofore depended, first on the moral qualities, and second on the intelligence and information of its inhabitants, I am desirous of trying to contribute towards this second object also: and I wish courses of lectures to be established on physics and chemistry, with their application to the arts; also on botany, zoology, geology, and mineralogy, connected with their public utility to man.

"After the establishment of these courses of lectures, should disposable funds remain, or in process of time be accumulated, the trustee may obtain courses of lectures to be delivered on the literature and eloquence of our language, and even on those of foreign nations, if he see fit. He may also, from time to time, establish lectures on any subject that in his opinion the wants and tastes of the age may demand.

"As infidel opinions appear to me injurious to society, and easily to insinuate themselves into a man's dissertations on any subject, however remote from religion, no man ought to be appointed a lecturer who is not willing to declare, and who does not previously declare, his belief in the divine revelation of the Old and New Testaments, leaving the interpretation thereof to his own conscience."

For forty years the provisions of this admirable will have been faithfully adhered to. Annually there have been courses of lectures by the most distinguished writers and thinkers in Europe and this country. The great interest they have excited has been shown in the throngs that have constantly applied for tickets of admission to the different courses, the number of applicants being always far beyond the capacity of any hall to accommodate them.[1]

of that name, if such there be who is competent. Once each year the accounts are to be exposed to the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, they, however, having no authority over such accounts beyond this single one of viewing them. None of the bequest is to be used for buildings, though, if necessary, it may be used for adapting buildings rented for the use of the trust. Ten per cent of the accumulation of the fund is to be annually set aside as an addition to it. Not only the property, but also the selection of lecturers, is entirely under the control of the trustee, and his judgment is final in regard to both.

[1] Among the lecturers have been such men as Agassiz, Silliman, Sir Charles Lyell, Tyndall, Palfrey, Guyot, and Marsh, on their several specialties; C. C. Perkins, on art; Lowell, Whipple,

In addition to the courses of Lowell Lectures, the trustee established a system of free instruction for mechanics and artisans in the principles and art of drawing, and in such subjects as are necessarily connected therewith. Applicants were received who could give the best evidence of good moral character, general intelligence, ability, industry, and skill, as well as a taste for drawing and design. This school, which was open to both sexes, was sustained with great success for twenty-eight years.[1] During that time the benefits of its instruction were seen not only in the progress of its pupils, but also in the impulse it gave to other schools which were induced to adopt its system.

John Lowell, Jr., the munificent founder of this Institute, died at Bombay, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His noble and generous spirit will be ever held in honored remembrance by the citizens of Boston.

Boston Society of Natural History. — This institution which now holds so prominent a place among the scientific associations of our city was organized in 1830.[2] One of the original members, recalling in after years the success of the undertaking, says : —

"At the time of the establishment of the Society, there was not in New England an institution devoted to the study of natural history. There was not a college in New England, excepting Yale, where philosophical geology of the modern school was taught. There was not a work extant by a New England author, which presumed to grasp the geological structure of any portion of our territory of greater extent than a county. There was not in existence a bare catalogue, to say nothing of a general history, of the animals of Massachusetts of any class. There was not within our borders a single museum of natural history founded according to the requirements and based upon the system of modern science ; not a single journal advocating exclusively its interests. We were dependent chiefly upon books and authors foreign to New England for our knowledge of our own zoölogy."

No society ever began life with so inadequate pecuniary advantages ; its only income during its early years being from the annual subscriptions of its members ; but it had, what is far more important, the efficient aid of earnest and interested workers, — men, whose zealous efforts would ensure success to any enterprise. There were among them representatives of all classes, but mainly of the professional ones. Many of these devoted every hour they could spare from arduous daily duties to the collection of specimens in the various departments of natural history, and arranging them for convenient study. One of the earliest acts of the Society was the institution of courses of lectures,[3] a mode of communicating scientific information which soon became popular, and has been continued during the whole life of the Society. Semi-monthly meetings of the members were held, which were made interesting by the reports and illustrations given by the curators on specimens committed to them for examination. Gradually the important objects of the Society and the successful efforts of its members in

Guild, Howells, and Bayard Taylor, on literature ; Drs. Wilder, Carl Semper, and Brown-Séquard, on anatomy ; President Rogers, of the Technological Institute, and many others eminent in literature and science.

[1] It was discontinued in 1878, because the building it had occupied was torn down, and proper accommodations could not be elsewhere found.

[2] To a complete and interesting *History of the Boston Society of Natural History*, by its President, Thomas T. Bouvé, the writer of this chapter is indebted for many of the facts stated therein.

[3] Among the early lecturers were Dr. John C. Warren and Dr. Walter Channing on anatomy and physiology ; Dr. D. Humphreys Storer on fishes and reptiles.

promoting them attracted the attention of the community, and began to be fairly appreciated. Some of our wealthy citizens,[1] who claimed no acquaintance with natural science, showed their interest by gifts of money.

In 1837 the Society recommended to the Legislature a resurvey of the State, and that a collection of the plants and animals should be made under the charge of the Society. This recommendation was accepted, and the geological survey committed to Professor Edward Hitchcock. A short time afterward, Professor Eben. Emmons took charge of the mammalia; Rev. William B. O. Peabody, of birds; Dr. D. Humphreys Storer, of fishes and reptiles; Dr. T. M. Harris, of insects; Dr. Augustus A. Gould, of mollusca, crustacea, and radiata; and Professor Chester Dewey, of herbaceous plants. These reports were published in 1839–1846.

In 1837 the cabinet, which had already become valuable, was enriched by the purchase of a collection of insects made by Professor Hentz. It contained fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty-six specimens. At the annual meeting in 1837 Benjamin D. Greene, who had been the efficient president of the Society since its organization, resigned his office. His successor was George B. Emerson, a gentleman widely known in literature and natural science. In 1840 Simon E. Greene left by his will $500, his collection of one thousand two hundred species of shells, and many desirable works on natural history. At the next annual meeting Dr. Amos Binney, Jr., offered his valuable collection of shells, upon condition that other members possessing cabinets should allow a committee to select from them such species as would serve to complete the collection of the Society. The result was that the collection of the Society became the largest in this country. In 1842 the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists met in Boston for the first time, and held their meetings, by invitation, in the hall of the Society.[2] In 1843 George B. Emerson,[3] who had been the efficient president for six years, resigned, and Dr. Amos Binney was elected in his place. At this period there were in the cabinet eight hundred and twenty-five specimens in the department of ornithology; one thousand in that of geology; and one hundred in that of herpetology, the last being a gift from Dr. Cragin of Surinam. In 1845 a donation of $2,000 was received from John Parker, a merchant of Boston, and fifty volumes of valuable works from Dr. Francis Boot of London.

The visit of Professor Agassiz to this country, and his subsequent determination to make it his home were of great importance to students of natural history, and particularly to the Natural History Society. He became interested in its meetings, and took an active part in its discussions. The influence of a man so conspicuous in the scientific world was everywhere felt.

In 1847 Dr. John Collins Warren was elected president. The next year the Society met in their new building on Mason Street, formerly the Medical College.[4] This gave

[1] In the vestibule of the Society's building may be seen a tablet with this inscription: "To Ambrose S. Courtis, merchant of Boston, whose generous bequest in 1828 was for twenty-five years its chief support, the *Boston Society of Natural History*, on the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, April 28, 1880, gratefully inscribes this tablet."

[2] The most eminent scientific men in the country were present; including Professors William B and Henry D. Rogers; Dr. Samuel G. Morton; Professor Edward Hitchcock; Professor Benjamin Silliman; Dr. James D. Dana; Professor Locke and Mr. Lyell, afterward Sir Charles Lyell. The meetings were of great scientific importance.

[3] [There is an excellent likeness of George B. Emerson in the *Anniversary Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History*, p. 236, which contains other likenesses of its prominent officers and benefactors. — Ed.]

[4] It cost $28,600, which was paid by voluntary contributions, in various sums, of eighty-six individuals.

to the Society new animation, which was increased by a donation of $2,000 from Jonathan Phillips of Boston. In 1850 the Honorable East-India Company presented a complete and invaluable suite of casts from the fossils of the Himalaya Mountains. In 1851 two remarkable Indian children, a boy and girl, dwarfs, were exhibited here. Having much vivacity and intelligence, they attracted crowds to see them.[1] In 1853 a valuable collection of ornithichnites was purchased by voluntary subscription, one of them the largest slab of fossil foot-prints ever quarried. In 1856 Professor Jeffries Wyman, one of our most distinguished naturalists, was elected president.[2] A bequest of Professor J. W. Bailey gave to the Society his valuable microscopical collection, and an excellent library of microscopic and botanical works. This led to the creation of a section for microscopic research. In 1857 Dr. B. D. Greene, the first president of the Society, gave to it his large and valuable herbarium, rich in specimens collected by the Exploring Expeditions of Europe and this country. This, with the bequest of Professor Bailey, increased the number of botanical specimens in the Society's collection ten-fold; it is now one of the most extensive and valuable in the country. In 1860 a bequest of $10,000 was received from the late Jonathan Phillips. During this year a course of free lectures was given by members of the Society. In 1861 the largest donation ever received from an individual was made by Dr. William J. Walker, who gave to the Society his valuable estate in Bulfinch Street. During the session of the Legislature of this year strenuous efforts were made by Professor William B. Rogers, M. Denman Ross, and other friends of the Society and of the Institute of Technology to obtain a grant of land for the use of each of those institutions. Their efforts were successful. The Legislature granted one square of land bounded by Boylston, Berkeley, Newbury, and Clarendon streets; the easterly one-third to the Boston Society of Natural History, and the remaining two-thirds to the Institute of Technology. Measures were immediately taken for the erection of a building on the acquired lot.[3] The city having purchased the estate in Mason Street, the Society removed temporarily to their building in Bulfinch Street. They left their old rooms

[1] It was claimed that they belonged to a race of similar beings found in Central America. Dr. J. Mason Warren, a prominent member of the society, after careful investigation, decided that they possessed a low degree of mental and physical organization, but were not idiots; that they probably originated from parents belonging to the mixed Indian tribes; that they did not belong to a race of dwarfs, because history shows that dwarfs cannot perpetuate their kind. These views were afterward fully corroborated.

[2] At one of the meetings of the Society, Professor Jeffries Wyman made a report on some fossil remains exhibited in New York as the skeleton of a sea-serpent. They consisted of a great number of vertebræ, apparently belonging to a single individual. These, with what purported to be the head, measured in length about one hundred and fourteen feet. There were also teeth, ribs, and paddles. The examination proved that the bones belonged not to one, but to many individuals of different ages, and had none of the characteristics of an ophidian reptile. As to the bones or portions of bones of the paddle, they were no bones at all, but casts of the cavities of a camerated shell. The teeth were not those of a reptile, but of a warm-blooded mammiferous animal; probably a cetacean. The exhibition had attracted crowds of visitors.

[3] The committee in charge of this consisted of President Wyman, Professor William B. Rogers, Dr. James C. White, Dr. B. Joy Jeffries, and Thomas T. Bouvé. On June 3, 1864, the new museum was dedicated with appropriate exercises. Professor William B. Rogers gave a brief history of the Society. He alluded to the fact that even while the flames of civil war were lighting the country, the Legislature granted the land asked for by the Society; and that no one was more earnest in advocating it than Governor John A. Andrew. His Honor, Mayor Lincoln, congratulated the members on the success of their past efforts, and bade them God-speed in the future. The Rev. Dr. R. C. Waterston gave an address on the importance of such an institution as that of the Boston Society of Natural History. Its objects, like those of the Public Library and the Institute of Technology, were essential to the higher education of the community.

with pleasant memories of the many profitable evenings spent there in listening to the discussions of Professor Agassiz, Professor William B. Rogers, and other eminent scientific men.

The accidental burning of a menagerie in the city this year was an unexpected boon to the Society, as the bones of the animals which were very valuable, and but slightly injured, came into its possession.

In 1862 the Boston Marine Society presented a valuable collection of objects in natural history, and of specimens of the workmanship of different East India and Pacific nations. The presentation of so many works of art led to the establishment of a department of ethnology, with Dr. Charles Pickering as curator. In the erection of the new building, and obtaining the additional funds necessary, the committee were greatly assisted by M. Denman Ross, whose interest in this Society and in the Institute of Technology were of great benefit to both institutions. At this time, when money seemed particularly desirable, a gentleman who would not allow his name to be known offered the sum of $20,000, provided the same amount could be obtained by subscription. This additional sum having been easily obtained, President Wyman announced that the donor of the $20,000 was Dr. William J. Walker, whose liberality had given to the Society but a short time before the building they were occupying. In 1864 a bequest of $9,000 was received from the estate of Benjamin D. Greene; and another donation of $20,000 was received from Dr. William J. Walker towards a working fund, with the condition that the same amount should be given from other sources. This was easily obtained by subscriptions from one hundred and thirty-five persons who gave $20,705. The whole amount was to be invested in certain specified securities to form a permanent fund,[1] the interest only of which could be used.

In this year, Rev. Dr. Waterston and John Cummings urged the expediency of instituting courses of lectures for the benefit of the school teachers. These were immediately begun on the most interesting departments of natural history. They were amply illustrated by specimens and diagrams. At the close of each lecture the extensive cabinets of the Society were thrown open for inspection. All expenses were generously paid by Mr. Cummings.

On April 5, 1865, the death of Dr. Wm. J. Walker, the Society's greatest benefactor, was announced. The property he left amounted to $1,250,000. Of this he gave $200,000 to his family, $10,000 to the Redwood Library in Newport, R. I., $27,780 in various legacies, and the rest in equal divisions to the Boston Society of Natural History, Institute of Technology, Amherst College, and Tufts College. Thomas T. Bouvé, treasurer of the Society, was one of the executors of his will.

In 1867 a bequest was received from Miss Sarah E. Pratt of a large collection of shells, — many of rare species, — her library of works on conchology, and the sum of $10,000 as a fund for that department.

Among the many interesting discussions at the meetings of the Society this year was that on the introduction of the common house-sparrow of Europe. Dr. Charles Pickering maintained that nothing but evil could follow their increase; that the habits of this bird were of the most destructive character. Dr. Thomas M. Brewer defended it, claiming that it had already accomplished much good in the destruction of insects, and cited many authors in proof of its usefulness.[2]

[1] John A. Andrew, Samuel K. Williams, Jeffries Wyman, Thomas T. Bouvé, and George A. Ketteil were appointed trustees of the fund.

[2] Reports of this discussion may be found in the eleventh volume of the Proceedings of the Society.

A bequest of $20,000 was received from Paschal P. Pope, a successful merchant of Boston. Among the most valuable additions to the cabinet in 1868 were a series of humming birds, over seven hundred specimens, and three hundred species; a collection of one thousand five hundred eggs, three hundred and fifty species, — all a donation from Mrs. Henry Bryant, whose husband was for many years a prominent member of the Society. Several thousand rock and fossil specimens were given by Dr. C. T. Jackson, and a collection of skulls by Dr. J. W. Merriam.

On Sept. 14, 1869, the Society celebrated the birthday of Alexander Von Humboldt. The address at the Music Hall was by Louis Agassiz, before an immense audience. Delegates were present from the leading literary and scientific societies in New England, and representatives from the colleges of Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, and Harvard. There was an evening reception at Horticultural Hall, which was attended by a large and distinguished company.[1]

In 1870 Thomas T. Bouvé, for many years one of the most interested and efficient members of the Society, was elected its president. A letter was received from Prof. J. D. Runkle, President of the Institute of Technology, proposing a co-operation of the two institutions. An arrangement was accordingly made, which proved to be advantageous to both. The chief features of it were that the Institute should use the halls of the museum and the collections for the instruction of its students, and grant to the Society the use of Huntington Hall for lectures, etc. Through the favor of John Amory Lowell, trustee of the Lowell Institute, several courses of lectures were given from that fund, on subjects pertaining to natural history, under the auspices of the Society.

In this year John Cummings again made a donation of $500 for educational lectures to teachers. He believed that what they might learn in this way could be used with beneficial effect upon the many thousand children under their charge. The interest excited by these lectures, and the large number attending them, showed the wisdom of this movement inaugurated by Mr. Cummings. For many years the Teachers' School of Science was sustained by aid from the same liberal hand.

In 1871 a bequest of $1,000 was received from the estate of the late Sidney Homer, all of which was appropriated for New-England mammals.

At the first autumnal meeting in 1874 the death of Professor Jeffries Wyman was announced. For fourteen years he was President of the Society, and, during his long connection with it, always one of the most successful contributors to its scientific researches. In the departments of Ichthyology, Herpetology, and Comparative Anatomy he had no superior.[2] The announcement of his death elicited appreciative addresses on his character from Professor Gray of Harvard University and others.

The semi-centennial anniversary, on April 28, 1880, was an interesting occasion. A large audience filled every available part of the hall. On the platform were seated many of our most distinguished literary and scientific men. President Bouvé, in his introductory address, spoke of the early steps taken to inculcate a love for the study of Nature in this community, particularly dwelling upon the formation of the Linnæan Society, its history, and its decline. He then gave a brief account of the movements

[1] Rev. Dr. R. C. Waterston, the originator and most active agent in the celebration, felicitously welcomed the guests. Addresses were made by Prof. F. H. Hedge, R. W. Emerson, and Prof. E. J. Young. A portrait of Humboldt was presented to the Society by Dr. Waterston.

[2] The records show that he made one hundred and five scientific communications, several of them very important papers, — every one of some positive value. Many of these were published in the Journal and Proceedings of the Society.

made towards the formation of a new association, which culminated in the founding of the Boston Society of Natural History.

From the felicitous remarks of his Excellency Governor Long, we give a brief extract: —

"Memory and imagination, those exquisite poets of the human mind, — memory that looks tenderly back over the past, and imagination that idealizes, and yet in all its mounting knows that it fails to picture or command the future, — are making this occasion not the mere boast of fifty years' success, but a tribute to what man has done, and a stimulus to what man yet a thousand times more shall do in behalf of the happiness, the delight, the knowledge, the ennobling of his fellow-men, unlocking from every nook and corner of the earth, and displaying in every form and motion of life, the beneficence of God. What a stride from those first small days, — that parlor sofa that once held you all, — those modest rooms, to this splendid temple, which I trust is to be your permanent home, where shall not only gather your rare and beautiful collections, but cluster with them also the memories of the zeal and devotion that have marked so many of your members! The birds of Bryant, the insects of Harris, the shells of Gould, the fossils from the Sivalik Hills, the contributions of a thousand helpful hands from every quarter of the globe, suggest something more than their scientific value; for they are still alive with the generous love of science which prompted their bestowal, and which, clinging to them still like the scent to the vase, wreathes your walls, more beautifully than the chisel of the artist, and in more enduring material, with the names and features of those of whom I have spoken; yes, and of Greene, and Wyman, and Jackson, and Greenwood, and Brewer, and a hundred others. If fifty years have wrought all this from such a slender beginning, what shall not fifty years more achieve? Everything, indeed, for science, — everything for human knowledge."

At the close of the exercises [1] all present were invited to examine the collections with the aid of the *General Guide to the Museum*, which had been distributed among them. In the evening there was a social gathering of members of the Society and others at the house of the President.

At the commencement of this historical sketch, we stated how limited were the means of the Society for accomplishing the important purposes of its establishment, and how earnest were the voluntary labors of all interested in its success. We now give the result of these labors on its semi-centennial anniversary.

The Society owns the building known as the Museum, its furniture, library, and collections, free from all encumbrance. The value of the building may be estimated at the cost of $150,334.86, as it certainly could not be erected for that sum now. The Society also owns property in notes, bonds, and stocks valued at $154,405. The money value of the library and collections cannot be given. The former contains over fourteen thousand volumes, and nearly six thousand pamphlets. The collections are of inestimable worth, not only to the Society but to the community, for a considerable portion of unique and type specimens in the several departments could never be replaced.

Persevering efforts continue to be made to render the collections more educational, not only by such arrangement as will facilitate their study, but by models and anatomical preparations giving the internal structure, and showing the habits, of animals.

The Society holds meetings on the first and third Wednesdays of each month,

[1] Eloquent addresses were also made by Dr. Samuel Eliot, Superintendent of Schools, President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, Alexander Agassiz, Curator of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge, and Rev. Dr. Robert C. Waterston.

except during the warm season, at which scientific communications, written or verbal, are made, and followed generally by discussions upon the matter presented. All important communications and remarks are published in the *Memoirs* or *Proceedings* of the Society.[1]

In its laboratory the Society is doing much for the students of natural history. Instruction is given to a class of the Boston University in Biology and Zoölogy; to a class of the Institute of Technology in Zoölogy and Paleontology; and to a special class of teachers in the Public Schools in Zoölogy. The laboratory room and the working collections therein are used also by other persons engaged in teaching or studying.

In addition to all that has been said, the Society is sustaining its library, which is open not only to members, but to all engaged in scientific investigation, upon proper application and under reasonable restriction. By an agreement with the Institute of Technology, its students are allowed the privilege of consulting the Society's books and taking them out for study. The use of the library is now much greater than it has been at any former time, and is constantly increasing.

At the annual meeting in 1880, the President, Thomas T. Bouvé, who had been an officer of the Society nearly forty years, and its President ten, declined a re-election. His administration was so efficient and successful, that his name will always be identified with the best interests of the Society. The officers now are, — President, Samuel H. Scudder; Vice-Presidents, John Cummings, Frederick W. Putnam; Custodian, Alpheus Hyatt; Honorary Secretary, Samuel L. Abbot; Secretary, Edward Burgess; Treasurer, Charles W. Scudder; Librarian, Edward Burgess.[2]

Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind. — The merit of proposing to establish the first school for the blind in Boston belongs to the late Dr. John D. Fisher. While pursuing his studies in Paris he made frequent visits to the Royal Institution for the young blind, and was so impressed by its great advantages and beneficent results, that on his return to Boston he advocated with great earnestness, and interested his friends in, the establishment of a similar institution here. At a public meeting, which was attended by many of our prominent citizens, Dr. Fisher gave a minute account of the several processes employed to communicate knowledge to the blind; described the various manufactures by which they were enabled to obtain a support; and exhibited specimens of books printed for their use, contributed by friends of the institution, which the blind read by touch.

His statement excited so deep an interest in all present, that a committee was appointed to consider what measures should be adopted for the establishment of an institution for the blind in New England. The report of this committee was so encouraging, that application was made immediately to the Legislature for an act of incorporation. This was unanimously granted in both Houses without debate. The name of the corporation was "The New-England Asylum for the Blind," for the pur-

[1] Of the former, three volumes quarto have been issued, and of the latter, twenty volumes octavo, besides many valuable memoirs and occasional papers, which have been published separately. These publications are of such a character as to give the society additional reputation at home and abroad.

Exchanges are now made with three hundred and sixty societies and proprietors of scientific journals.

[2] [It should be remarked that the writer of this notice most faithfully served the Society as Librarian for more than thirty years, and until it moved into its present quarters, and saw the library increase from two hundred to six thousand volumes. — Ed.]

pose of educating blind persons, the institution to be under the direction and management of twelve trustees, eight to be elected by the corporation, and four by the Board of Visitors. The Governor, Lieut.-Governor, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Chaplains of the Legislature constituted the Board of Visitors. The Legislature might send to the Asylum, for maintenance and education, such blind persons as they might think proper, not exceeding thirty, paying for each such sum as is charged for other persons in the Asylum. In 1830 the first Board of Trustees was elected, with Hon. Jonathan Phillips for President. Dr. Fisher, who had been foremost in promoting this beneficent enterprise, being unable to engage in it personally, had enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who was soon appointed superintendent. Immediately after his appointment he visited Europe, by request of the trustees, to make himself fully acquainted with the mode of conducting such an institution, to procure one, or at the most two, trained assistant teachers, and also the necessary apparatus. He returned in the following year, bringing with him Mr. Trencheri, a graduate of the Paris Institution, as literary teacher, and John Pringle, of the Edinburgh Institution, as teacher of handicrafts. In 1832 the school was opened with six pupils, varying in age from six to twenty. Early in the following year, Dr. Howe exhibited before the Legislature the results of his six months' instruction, and so satisfactorily proved the practicability of educating the blind, that an appropriation of $6,000 per annum was at once made for the Institution, on condition that it should receive and educate free of cost twenty-four blind persons belonging to the State.

A number of public exhibitions were then given in Boston and elsewhere, and an address, containing much valuable information collected by Dr. Howe while in Europe, was widely circulated. The result of these efforts was far more favorable than was expected, and sympathetic interest so thoroughly excited that subscriptions and donations were freely given. The ladies of Boston held a Fair, by which a large sum was realized. An additional stimulus was given to public liberality when Colonel Thomas H. Perkins gave his estate in Pearl Street, valued at $25,000, as a permanent residence for the blind, provided a sufficient sum could be raised to assure the establishment of the institution. This liberal spirit was so warmly seconded by the community that within one month over $50,000 were added to the funds. Connecticut afterward voted an appropriation of $1,000 per annum, for twelve years, for as many blind children as could be educated for that sum; Vermont appropriated $1,200 for ten years, and New Hampshire made a temporary appropriation of $500; the States of Maine and Rhode Island afterward made appropriations, — and thus the institution became the educational establishment for the blind of all the New-England States, as the Asylum at Hartford already was for the deaf and dumb. The institution being now well established, Dr. Howe, by his own exertions, raised subscriptions for a printing fund; and after many and costly experiments with the ordinary printing presses, a new press, especially adapted to printing for the blind, was obtained. A series of experiments in adapting the alphabet to the sense of touch resulted in the adoption of a slight modification of the ordinary Roman letters of the lower-case. This was the first printing office for the blind opened in any English or American institution, and its work was so actively carried on that very flattering testimonials of its work were soon received, in the shape of orders from England, Ireland, and Holland.[1]

[1] The British and Foreign Bible Society ordered a complete edition of the book of Psalms, for which they paid $750.

Instruction in the literary department included not only the simpler branches of a common-school education, but some of the higher mathematics, history, astronomy, and languages. In addition to vocal music, with instruction upon the piano and organ, the foundation for a band was begun, with favorable results.[1] Instruction was given to male pupils in the manufacture of mattresses, cushions, mats, and baskets, while the girls were taught sewing, knitting, braiding, and some household duties.

One of the earliest scholars of Dr. Howe was Laura Bridgman,[2] whose education has probably attracted more attention than that of any living person. The success which attended her intellectual development has encouraged multitudes of teachers, and favored the foundation of twenty-seven institutions for the blind in this country.

In 1829 increased accommodations having become necessary for the New England Institution, it was removed to its present location at South Boston. At this time its name was changed to the "Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind," in honor of its greatest benefactor. In 1840 an additional department was opened to provide employment for those who had acquired their education and learned to work, but could not carry on business alone. The making, cleansing, and renovating of beds, mattresses, and cushions; the manufacture of mats, and cane-seating chairs, — these were the occupations in which the blind could best compete with seeing workmen. The test of years proved this department to be a valuable auxiliary in assisting the blind to self-maintenance.

The evils attendant upon congregating so many persons laboring under a common infirmity were perceived at an early date in the history of this institution. Additional buildings being absolutely necessary, the trustees applied to the Legislature for an additional grant. They asked the Commonwealth to furnish the means of educating her blind children in some slight degree proportionate to the means so liberally furnished for educating her seeing children. They did not ask it as a charity, but expected it as a part of the obligation, early assumed, to educate every son and daughter of the Commonwealth. The Legislature of 1869, admitting the justice of the claim, granted an appropriation of $80,000 for erecting suitable buildings. In addition to this sum, $15,000 were contributed by friends of the institution.[3]

By the death of Dr. Howe, Jan. 4, 1876, the institution lost not only its Director, but its life-long friend and benefactor.[4] In accordance with his often expressed wish to remove it from the class of charitable institutions, and place it on the same footing with other educational institutions, the trustees voted, Oct. 3, 1877, that its name

[1] For music and poetry the blind have long manifested peculiar taste and capacity. The names of Stanley, Gautier, and Chauvain are widely known among musical composers. Of sightless bards we have a long array, headed by the "blind old man of Scio's rocky isle," whose verse has charmed every age, and been repeated in every tongue. That the blind have abundant capacity for the highest education is manifest from the number of those who have become eminent. Ancient history abounds with these. The names of Didymus of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Aufidius are well known. In modern times we have Saunderson, a distinguished Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, England; Dr. Henry Moyes, Professor of Philosophical Chemistry in Manchester; Rev. Dr. Blacklock, a successful poet; and many others of equal eminence.

[2] See the *Life and Education of Laura Dewey Bridgman, the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Girl*, by Mary Swift Lamson.

[3] Two dwelling houses to accommodate four families were erected, and a school-house, with music rooms, etc. The number of blind persons connected with the institution is one hundred and fifty-six; of these, one hundred and thirty-seven are in the school proper, and nineteen in the workshops for adults.

[4] See the *Memoir of Samuel Gridley Howe*, by Julia Ward Howe, with other memorial tributes, published by the Howe Memorial Committee, Boston, 1876; and the paper in James Freeman Clarke's *Memorials*.

should be the "Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind." The present officers of the Corporation are Samuel Eliot, president; John Cummings, vice-president; P. T. Jackson, treasurer; M. Anagnos, secretary; Robert E. Apthorp, John S. Dwight, Joseph B. Glover, J. Theodore Heard, M.D., Henry Lee Higginson, James H. Means, D.D., Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., Edward N. Perkins, Samuel M. Quincy, Samuel G. Snelling, James Sturgis, George W. Wales, — trustees.[1]

Massachusetts Institute of Technology. — In the years 1858–59, an association of gentlemen, residing in and near Boston, became interested in securing a site on which to erect in close proximity such buildings as might be suitable and necessary for the museums and collections of the Natural History Society, the Horticultural Society, and such others as might be formed, representing the industrial and fine arts, so as by their union and co-operation to constitute a comprehensive museum or conservatory of arts and sciences. With this view they organized a "Committee of Associated Institutions," and petitioned the Legislature for a grant of land on the Back Bay, suitable for their purpose. This petition failed of its object. In 1860 Professor William B. Rogers prepared a memorial to the Legislature, which was adopted by the committee, in which we find the first suggestion of "a school of applied science or comprehensive Polytechnic College, fitted to equip its students with the scientific and technical principles applicable to industrial pursuits." This also failed to obtain the favor of the Legislature, but led the way to the more definite organization developed in the report by Professor Rogers entitled, *Objects and Plan of an Institute of Technology*, etc. The wide circulation of this report, accompanied by an appeal to the public for co-operation and aid, resulted in the calling of a meeting on Jan. 11, 1861, for the purpose of adopting measures for the organization of the Institute, and in furtherance of a petition to the Legislature for a charter and a portion of the Back-Bay land.[2]

In 1861 an act of incorporation under the name of "The Massachusetts Institute of Technology" was granted by the Legislature "to William B. Rogers and others, their associates and successors, for the purpose of instituting and maintaining a society of arts, a museum of arts, and a school of industrial science; and aiding generally, by suitable means, the advancement, development and practical application of science in connection with arts, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce." The Legislature also granted one square of land bounded by Boylston, Berkeley, Newbury, and Clarendon streets. The easterly one-third to the Boston Society of Natural History,[3] and the remaining two-thirds to the Institute of Technology. The Institute was formerly organized by the election of William B. Rogers, president; John Amory Lowell, Jacob

[1] Institutions for the blind made slow progress in Europe, but they have multiplied rapidly in the United States, numbering at present twenty-nine. The "American Printing House for the Blind" is the only chartered institution for printing for the blind in the world. It is much the largest in its productions and the most varied in the character of its works; being the only printing establishment of its kind that runs its press by steam. The press was invented for this company, and has no equal. When the enterprise began, the price of stereotyping was five dollars a page; now, through the inventions of the superintendent, Mr. Huntoon, the work is done at a cost of ten cents a page. The stereotype plate may be made from a paper page, or may consist of a brass plate, which costs but a small sum, and requires little room for storage. *Report of the Commissioner of Education in* 1879.

[2] At this meeting the following committee was appointed to carry out the purpose referred to: William B. Rogers, *Chairman*; J. M. Beebe, E. S. Tobey, S. H. Gookin, E. B. Bigelow, M. D. Ross, J. D. Philbrick, F. H. Storer, J. D. Runkle, C. H. Dalton, J. B. Francis, J. C. Hoadley, M. P. Wilder, C. L. Flint, Thomas Rice, John Chase, J. P. Robinson, F. W. Lincoln, Jr., Thomas Aspinwall, J. A. Dupee, E. C. Cabot.

[3] See *ante* under the Boston Society of Natural History.

Bigelow, Marshall P. Wilder, and John Chase, vice-presidents; Thomas H. Webb, secretary; Charles H. Dalton, treasurer; and through the liberality of friends sufficient funds were raised to initiate the plan by establishing the Society of Arts. The first meeting of this society was held Dec. 17, 1862, since which time it has continued to have two meetings in each month of the sessions of the Institute, on which occasions are presented communications on various topics in applied science, with the exhibition of machines and apparatus illustrating important inventions in the useful arts.

Through the activity of the Society of Arts and other means, the practical objects of the Institute soon became more widely known and appreciated, and a generous gift from Dr. William J. Walker, with large contributions from other friends, prepared the way for establishing the proposed school of Industrial Science. A report by Professor Rogers on the "Scope and Plan of a School of Industrial Science" was adopted May 30, 1864, and the scheme therein set forth has continued to form the basis of the instruction in all departments of the school, with only such changes and additions in the details of the organization and equipment of the laboratories as time and experience could determine.

The school of the Institute was opened in February, 1865, with a class of twenty-seven students, in hired rooms in the Mercantile Hall, Summer Street, where the Society of Arts also held its meetings. In 1866 the Institute took possession of its building in Boylston Street, under the same officers, with the exception of the secretary. Dr. Webb having died, was succeeded by Dr. Samuel Kneeland, who continued in office until 1879.

The following regular courses of study have been arranged in the Institute, each extending through four years, for proficiency in any one of which the degree of Bachelor of Science (S.B.) may be conferred: I. Civil and Topographical Engineering; II. Mechanical Engineering; III. Mining Engineering, or Geology and Mining; IV. Building and Architecture; V. Chemistry; VI. Metallurgy; VII. Natural History; VIII. Physics; IX. An Elective Course; X. Science and Literature. Advanced courses of study are prescribed for the degree of Doctor of Science. Provision is also made for persons who desire to pursue special portions only of any of the regular courses.

A novel feature in the original plan of the Institute — which has been fully carried out by its professors, and has since been adopted in many other institutions in this country — was the introduction of Laboratory teaching (hitherto confined to the department of chemistry) in the departments of physics, mechanics, and mining. Special laboratories have been provided for the instruction of women in chemical analysis, industrial chemistry, mineralogy, and biology through the co-operation of the Woman's Educational Association of Boston.[1]

A school of mechanic arts has been established in the Institute, adapted by President J. D. Runkle from the Russian system of shop work, for the instruction of those who wish to pursue industrial trades, as well as for those who are preparing to become scientific engineers. The Institute, in addition to the objects set forth in its act of incorporation, is required to provide for instruction in military tactics, and has a large drill-hall, including a gymnasium.

Beside the systematic day-courses, the Institute proposed as a part of its work "to provide evening instruction to persons of both sexes, who, being unable to study during the day, desire to avail themselves of systematic evening lessons or lectures." The

[1] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter. — Ed.]

trustee of the Lowell Institute, John Amory Lowell, has, since the opening of the school, provided the funds for the maintenance of this department free to the pupils. These courses are more or less varied from year to year, but include in their entire scope instruction in a great variety of scientific and literary subjects. Mr. Lowell also provides for a course of free instruction in practical designs for manufacturers.

In 1870 Professor Rogers resigned the presidency of the Institute, and was succeeded by Professor John D. Runkle, who continued in office until 1878, when Professor Rogers was again appointed.

The annual income of the Institute is derived from bequests and gifts of its friends, from a portion of the State fund arising out of the Congressional grant of public lands in aid of industrial education, and mainly from the fees of its students. The most important bequest was that received from Dr. William J. Walker; also generous bequests have been received from Ralph Huntington, James Hayward, Powell Mason, James Savage, Nathaniel Nash, Henry Harris, James McGregor, and A. K. Welch.

The officers of the Institute at present are: President, William B. Rogers, LL.D.; Treasurer, John Cummings; Chairman of the Faculty, Professor John M. Ordway; Secretary of the Faculty, Professor Robert H. Richards. The number of professors and other officers of instruction is thirty-seven; the number of students is three hundred and fifty-six.

Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Children. — In 1839 an idiotic blind child was brought to our Institution for the Blind. He was not only unsound in mind, but infirm in body. Although not a fit subject for the Institution, he excited the sympathy of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, the superintendent, who decided to retain and try to improve the unfortunate child; and he was convinced beyond doubt that idiots were capable of being improved in their bodily habits, in their mental capacities, and even in their spiritual natures.

An appeal was made to the Legislature urging upon its members that considerations of duty, humanity, and economy all demanded that the condition of idiots at public charge should be inquired into with a view to its speedy improvement. The result of this appeal was the appointment of a commission, of which Dr. Howe was chairman; and their report induced the Legislature to appropriate $2,500 annually for three years for the training and teaching of ten idiotic children. An arrangement was soon made with the trustees of the Institution for the Blind to assume the responsibility, and to Dr. Howe was intrusted the carrying out of the experiment, which proved so successful that at the end of two years the Legislature doubled the appropriation, and made provision for converting the experimental school into a permanent one.

Samuel Eliot, LL.D., is President, and Edward Jarvis, M.D., Vice-President of the Board of Trustees. Dr. Jarvis is also Superintendent of the Institution.

Boston University. — This institution was founded in 1869, and owes its origin to the combined efforts and beneficence of Isaac Rich, Jacob Sleeper, and the late Lee Claflin, father of Governor Claflin. Mr. Rich bequeathed to it the larger part of an estate valued by the official appraisers after his death at over $1,700,000. The plan of this institution is unique and comprehensive, including colleges, professional schools, and a department of universal post-graduate instruction called a "School of All Sciences." The first of these are designed to prepare students for the higher industries and arts of civilization and for the study of the learned professions; the

second, to qualify them theoretically and practically for professional life; the third, including and supplementing the general or non-technical instruction of the professional schools, to be a universal and non-professional school of elective post-graduate studies with special degrees, scholarships, and fellowships.

Of the colleges, three have already been organized, — that of Liberal Arts, in 1873; of Music, in 1872; of Agriculture, supplied by the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, associated with the University in 1875. The College of Liberal Arts answers to what is called in many universities "the academic department." Its courses of instruction qualify students for the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of philosophy. The College of Music is designed for students of the average proficiency of graduates of the best American conservatories. The regular courses of instruction for vocalists, pianists, organists, and orchestral performers extend through four years.

In 1871 the trustees of the Boston Theological Seminary — the oldest and largest of the theological schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church — legally conveyed and transferred their property and trusts to the University, the assets amounting to nearly a quarter of a million dollars. The school is open to candidates of all Christian denominations, and was the first to give to women regular theological instruction and degrees.

The School of Law was opened in 1872. Under the administration of the genial and scholarly George S. Hillard, its first dean, aided by his friend and successor Judge Bennett, Judges Thomas, Curtis, Lord, Lowell, Foster, and other eminent lecturers, the school quickly became one of the largest in the country.

In 1873 the trustees of the New-England Female Medical College — said to be the oldest of the class in the world — leased their building to the University for a medical school; and in 1874, in accordance with a special Act of the Legislature, transferred all their properties and franchises to the University Corporation, and the College was thus merged into the broader co-educative University School of Medicine. This department also had a rapid growth, so that as early as 1875 the aggregate of theological, legal, and medical students in the University exceeded that of any other American university.

In 1874 negotiations were opened with the authorities of the National University of Athens, and of the Royal University of Rome, which resulted in securing to the members of the graduate department, or School of All Sciences, of Boston University free instruction in those institutions.

The University has already contributed largely to elevate the standards of professional education and of degrees in this country. Notwithstanding its youth and financial limitations, its requisitions for admission to the College of Liberal Arts, and to the classical degrees, are higher than in any other American college.[1] Its minimum requirement for theological graduation and degrees is higher than in any other. It was the first to present and maintain a three-years' graded course of instruction in law, and its requirements for the higher legal degrees are unequalled. In medicine it was the first to present courses of instruction four years in duration, and to re-instate the baccalaureate degrees of medicine and surgery.

A fundamental idea with the founders of the University was that such an institution should be equally for both sexes. Hence in all departments the principles of co-education are thoroughly carried out. Men and women are welcomed to all the advantages of the University on precisely the same conditions, — not only to the bench of

[1] Since the above was written, the University has accepted, as alternatives, the requisitions recently agreed upon by the New-England College Association, in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics.

the pupil, but also to the chair of the professor, and even to membership in the governing corporation.

Throughout Christendom the age of exclusive male education is fast disappearing; and in duly representing and advocating the broader movement of the new era, Boston University, both by its example and its publications, has played no unimportant part. Thus far it has carried out its comprehensive plan with distinguished success. It has already graduated over one thousand students. During the past five years its annual attendance has exceeded six hundred. The proportion of female students has gradually risen until they now constitute about thirty per cent of the whole. Already in 1875 the number annually graduated from the schools of theology, law, and medicine exceeded that from the corresponding schools of Harvard or Yale. Its financial condition is prosperous, notwithstanding its great loss by the Boston fire of 1872. The President of the Institution is William F. Warren, S.T.D., LL.D., son of Mather Warren, of a family connected with the Mathers, Whites, and Cottons of Boston's early history. Ex-Governor William Claflin, LL.D., is President of the Board of Trustees.

The deans of the several departments are: James E. Latimer, S.T.D., Theology; Edmund H. Bennett, LL.D., Law; I. Tisdale Talbot, M.D., Medicine; John W. Lindsay, S.T.D., All Sciences; Eben. Tourjee, Mus.D., Music; Hon. Levi Stockbridge, Agriculture; John W. Lindsay, S.T.D., Liberal Arts. The number of officers of instruction and government is ninety-six.

Boston College. — Boston College, under the care of Fathers of the Society of Jesus, was incorporated in 1863, with power "to confer such degrees as are usually conferred by colleges in Massachusetts, except medical degrees." Although a Catholic institution it is not a proselyting one, students from other denominations being received, and not required to participate in any distinctive Catholic exercises; and no influence is exerted to induce a change of belief. The institution is supported by fees for instruction and by scholarships founded by friends of the College. The professors receive no compensation except their board and clothing; they devote their lives to this work, and look for rewards beyond. The schools began unpretendingly, and have not yet reached any great proportions; but one fact is noticeable, — since the year they were opened the number of pupils has been steadily increasing, and is now two hundred and fifty. The course of study includes the Latin, Greek, French, and German languages, mathematics, chemistry, English literature, mental and natural philosophy. In one department this institution, young as it is, affords an example which might be followed with advantage in other colleges, — the scholars are taught to converse in Latin, and to discuss philosophical subjects in that language. Its President is the Rev. Jeremiah O'Connor, S.J.

Charles K. Dimmey

CHAPTER II.

LIBRARIES IN BOSTON.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,
Librarian of Harvard University.

THE town, or possibly the colony, established in Boston a collection of books for public use sometime before the Indian outbreak of 1675. Robert Keayne, in his curious will [1] dated in 1653, beside leaving money for building a town house, mentions a room for a library, and books for it, as among the public provisions which he desired to make; [2] but we have no trace of such a library earlier than the bequest of John Oxenbridge in his will dated 12th day of the first month, 1673–74, by which he leaves a few books "to the public library in Boston," etc.; [3] and not long after, Feb. 16, 1676, a London bookseller sends tidings to Increase Mather of an invoice of books which he had shipped, hoping Mather would "recommend some to your public library." [4] There is in the Boston Athenæum a copy of Samuel Mather's *Testimony against Idolatry and Superstition*, which was printed at Cambridge in 1670; and upon this copy is inscribed, "ffor the Publike Library at Boston, 1674." In 1686 the Town Records mention "the library room at the east end of the town house;" and in Sewall's diary [5] Andros is recorded as meeting the ministers, the same year, "in the library" at the Town House. In 1695, March 11, there is another reference to the library of the town. We have only such fragmentary knowledge of this earliest public library; and whatever it may have been, it was probably the foundation of that accumulation of "ancient books," whose destruction is mentioned at the time of the burning of the Town House in 1747.

The Library of Harvard College had been begun on the death of its first benefactor, in 1638, with his bequest of three hundred and twenty volumes,[6] and was added to from time to time by the care of its friends. The Mathers were seemingly the largest accumulators of books in their day; but few or none of their treasures, so far as we know, passed into the

[1] Vol. I. p. 237.
[2] Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 400.
[3] Vol. I. p. 501.
[4] Vol. I. p. 501.
[5] *Sewall Papers*, i. 162.
[6] Vol. I. p. 455.

College collection, and if any did, they disappeared in the destruction of that library which came so heavily upon the College and the community in 1764.[1] What Increase Mather inherited or began, Cotton Mather augmented; and a collection which excited Dunton's admiration[2] in 1686 grew to be the chief wealth of the family, numbering seven or eight thousand volumes, and was in the end consumed in part, if not wholly, in 1775, at Charlestown, during the battle of Bunker Hill.[3]

But while Harvard College Library was growing, because it had friends in England as well as in the colony, one of its chief foreign benefactors was urging its authorities to chain their books to desks, as they did at the Bodleian, to prevent their being carried away. This was in 1725;[4] but that very year Allan Ramsay in Edinburgh was founding a circulating library,— the earliest of its kind, — for the purpose of allowing its books to be taken to firesides; and a few years later the earlier removal of Franklin to Philadelphia gave that town in 1731, instead of Boston, the credit of establishing the first subscription library in America, — now the flourishing Philadelphia Library.[5] It was more than thirty years after this, in 1764, that John Mein, a Scotchman, opened in Boston its first circulating library of twelve hundred volumes.[6]

Meanwhile, however, the town, by virtue of the scholarly sympathy of Thomas Prince, had in effect received the gift of a library. He had begun to form a collection of books upon entering college in 1703, and the design subsequently took shape in two separate schemes. He went abroad after graduation and continued his collecting. Upon his return, he became a colleague pastor of the Old South, and then his two aims developed. The later of these objects was to form what was practically a theological collection, which he terms in his will, "my books that are in Latin, Greek, and the Oriental languages," — a collection dating from 1718. The other object he defines in his will as the gathering of "a number of books, pamphlets, maps, papers, in print and manuscript, either published in New England or pertaining to its history and public affairs, to which collection I have given [he says] the name of the New England Library." It was in books of this character that he put his book-plate: "Begun to be collected by Thomas Prince upon his entring Harvard College, July 6, 1703;" and in his will he says regarding them: "I made the collection from a public view, and desire that the memory of many important transactions might be preserved, which otherwise would be lost;" and he enjoins "that no person shall borrow any book or paper therefrom, but that any person, whom the pastors and

[1] Vol. II. p. 432. See also *Public Libraries in the U. S.*, Washington, 1876, p. 22, — a vast accumulation of information, gathered under the supervision of the Comm'r of Education; but its contents might well be condensed into a hand-book.

[2] Vol. I. p. xviii.

[3] "The loss of Mr. Mather's library, which was a collection of books and manuscripts, made by himself, his father, his grandfather, and great-grandfather, and was really very curious and valuable, is irreparable." — *John Adams to Abigail Adams*, July 7, 1775.

[4] The first printed catalogue of the College Library had been issued two years before, in 1723; and in Vol. II. p. 413, will be found some examination of its contents.

[5] Vol. II. p. 279.

[6] Ibid., pp. xix. 433.

deacons [of the Old South] shall approve of, may have access thereto, and take copies therefrom."

That during Prince's life the library was publicly used seems evident from notices in the Boston newspapers for the return of its books; and after his death (1758), when by his will the books were transferred to the custody of the deacons of the Old South, it is well known that Hutchinson and other scholars availed themselves of it;[1] as indeed they might have used the accumulations of the other learned men of their day, including those of Hutchinson himself, one of the most assiduous of collectors in the colony's history. The Probate Office yields us not a few inventories of private collections occasionally dispersed by the death of their proprietors. In 1717 the library of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton was scattered by public auction, — the first instance, it is thought, of such a dispersement in Boston.[2]

At the era of Independence (1776), it has been reckoned that there were twenty-nine collections of books, fairly called in some sort public ones, in the colonies, and they contained in the whole less than fifty thousand volumes. The war was not over when the foundation of one of our most important collections of books in physical science was laid with the organization of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1780.[3] Before 1800 there had been from twenty to thirty such libraries additionally formed, and of these one third were in Massachusetts. In the last decade of that century two libraries, still flourishing, were established. The first of these followed soon upon the founding, in 1791, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose property it is.[4] The other, "The Boston Library," as its act of incorporation in 1794 terms it, is a proprietary library, with a

[1] Of its later vicissitudes something has already been said in Vol. II. pp. 221, 426; and a fuller account will be found, together with something of the history of some of its manuscript and other treasures, in the present writer's introduction to the *Catalogue of the Prince Library*, Boston, 1870. Books with Prince's name in them, and sometimes with his book-plate, are not infrequently found in some of the choicer collections of Americana throughout the land, and attest the depredations to which the collection has been subjected. The *Brinley Catalogue* shows such. See also *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1879, p. 173, from which it would appear that Prince, at one time at least, made sale of some of his books.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 419; also p 428, for notices of some law libraries. Joseph Green, the Boston wit, is said to have had the largest private library in New England in his day.

[3] See the account of the Academy in Mr. Dillaway's chapter in this volume, and the constant reference to its members in Professor Lovering's. Its first printed catalogue was issued in 1802.

[4] This society was not incorporated till 1794, and the course of its inception and early progress can be traced in its *Proceedings*, vol. i. Of its ten original members, eight were Boston men, — the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D.; the Rev. John Eliot, D.D.; the Rev. James Freeman, D.D; the Hon. James Sullivan, LL.D; the Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D.; the Hon. William Tudor; Thomas Wallcut; and the Hon. George Richard Minot. The other two were the Hon. James Winthrop of Cambridge, and the Hon. William Baylies of Dighton. Its presidents to the present time have all been Boston men, — James Sullivan, Christopher Gore, John Davis, Thomas L. Winthrop, James Savage, Robert C. Winthrop. The first catalogue of its library was printed in 1796 (1,000 titles); a second in 1811 (4,000 titles); and a new one in 1859–60, when it contained 18,000 volumes. The Dowse Collection, formed of English authors chiefly, fine editions in fine bindings, 5,000 volumes in all, was bequeathed by its owner, Thomas Dowse, currier, of Cambridge, in 1856; and a separate catalogue of it was printed the same year. See Mr. Cummings's chapter in Vol. III.

select body of share-holders, and now numbers about thirty thousand volumes.[1]

During the early years of the present century the deficiencies of our libraries began to be remarked upon, since research was stopped in every direction by want of books. It was not, however, a time of munificent support of libraries.[2] In 1817 it was estimated that in Boston and Cambridge all the public and semi-public libraries could not present over sixty thousand volumes, including their large duplication of one another.

In 1804 the beginning of our principal law library, now known as the Social Law Library, was made, when Theophilus Parsons and others undertook a collection of such books intended for common use among a few lawyers associated together. From an humble start, it has grown by assessments of money, by gifts of books, and by appropriations of funds from Suffolk County. It was incorporated in 1814.[3] Meanwhile the principal of the proprietary libraries had been started in 1807, growing out of an organization called the Anthology Club, which became finally the parent of the Boston Athenæum, of which William Smith Shaw was the first librarian.[4] The collection has always grown healthily. In 1820 it held nearly 20,000 volumes, and in 1822 it was housed in the mansion in Pearl Street, bequeathed by Mr. James Perkins; and here it remained till 1849, when its present house on Beacon Street was first occupied. It has absorbed from time to time various minor collections,[5] has received munificent donations of money,[6] and has been in the charge of librarians distinguished in their profession.[7]

[1] It has at present no serviceable printed catalogue; but such lists have been issued in 1795, 1797, 1802, 1807, 1815 (7,000 volumes), 1817 (8,000 volumes), 1824, 1830, 1835, 1837, 1844 (10,000 volumes), 1849, 1855. This library should not be confounded with the later Boston *Public* Library.

[2] For the first third of this century, a great library like the British Museum spent less than £600 yearly for books.

[3] Its printed catalogues are dated 1824 (1,500 vols.), 1849, 1865.

[4] See *History of the Boston Athenæum* by Josiah Quincy; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* i. 391; and Mr. Cummings's chapter in Vol. III. The original trustees were Theophilus Parsons, John Davis, John Lowell, William Emerson, J. T. Kirkland, P. Thacher, A. M. Walter, W. S. Shaw, R. H. Gardiner, J. S. Buckminster, and O. Rich, and their first rooms were in Scollay Building.

[5] The library of King's Chapel, which began with a present of books from the King in 1698; the theological library of the Boston Association of Ministers, which its printed catalogue, in 1808, calls the fourth social library in Boston; the Boston Medical Library, of which a catalogue was printed in 1818; and the library of the Massachusetts Scientific Library Association. Of the collection first named the Rev. H. W. Foote gives an account in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1881, p. 423, with a register of the titles. The books were stamped on their covers, DE BIBLIOTHECA DE BOSTON. One hundred and ten volumes remain.

[6] Principal among them are $160,000 from William B. Howes in 1879; $25,000 from Nathan Appleton in 1853; $20,000 each from John Bromfield in 1846 and from George Bemis in 1879; $8,000 in 1826 each from Colonel Thomas H. Perkins and James Perkins (son of the James before named) conditioned upon a subscription of a like sum, which was obtained; and $5,000 in 1858 from Thomas W. Ward.

[7] Mr. Charles Folsom, the literary mentor of so many distinguished Boston writers, was for ten years its head, — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December 1872; and (by Theophilus Parsons) April, 1873. He was succeeded in 1856 by Mr. William F. Poole, who had had the charge of the Mercantile Library, and is now the librarian of the Chicago Public Library. He is well known as a student in American history (see his chapter on "Witchcraft," in Vol. II.) and for his labors in the present, as well as in the past, in his *Index to Periodical Literature*. He was followed in 1869 by Mr. Charles A. Cutter, the present librarian, to whom the fraternity of librarians award the

To Boston belongs the credit of having started the first of a class of libraries which were of parallel growth with the movements in education that characterized the early half of the present century, — libraries which were intended mainly to help the self-education of the younger members of the commercial classes.[1] The Boston Mercantile Library was begun in 1820, antedating by a few months the similar institution in New York, and by a year that in Philadelphia, both still flourishing; while the Boston institution, after many mischances, having the helpful encouragement at times of eminent men, and floated for some years by the most popular system of public lectures in the town, succumbed in 1877 (when it contained twenty-three thousand volumes) before the progressive work of the Public Library, and became the nucleus of its South End branch.[2] Mr. William Wood started during the same year (1820) a somewhat similar institution, the Mechanics' Apprentices' Library, — which is still, however, with its five thousand volumes, doing a quiet work.[3]

The Legislature of the State had voted in 1811 to exchange its documents with other States; and Congress, in 1813, agreeing to furnish its publications, a collection of books was gradually formed at the State House, which grew to such proportions that in 1826 it was formally organized as a library. Though some of the States, even during the Revolutionary War, had begun libraries at their Capitals, the law of Massachusetts in 1811 is conceded to have been the most noticeable cause which has instigated the present system of State Libraries.[4] Under the fostering care of the Legislature, and with the aid of the reciprocity system, the State Library has now grown to be of large size, when we consider that its scope is chiefly that of legislative productions, with the addition of works on the history of the country. Its expansion has recently rendered necessary an enlargement of its rooms in the State House.[5]

We must assign to the period now under consideration three significant special collections, still in full usefulness, — that of the Handel and Haydn Society, started in 1815, rich in the works and scores of the musical profession; that of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mis-

headship in the science of cataloguing. His *Rules for a printed Dictionary Catalogue*, published as Part II. of the report of the Bureau of Education (Washington, 1876) on *The Public Libraries of the United States*, is the most exhaustive survey of an intricate subject which has ever been made, and is recognized as such in Europe and in this country. He is the present editor of the *Library Journal*, and has lately begun the arrangement of the library on a novel plan. The first catalogue of the Athenæum was printed in 1809 (5,750 volumes); other issues appeared in 1827, 1829, 1834, and 1840, with smaller supplements of later dates, which have now the form of an annotated bulletin of accessions. The late Mr. Charles Russell Lowell began the preparation of a final critical catalogue under Mr. Poole, but his death threw the completion and printing of it into Mr. Cutter's hands, who issued vol. i. in 1874. This monument of bibliographical scholarship is not yet finished.

[1] F. B. Perkins on "Mercantile Libraries" in the *Report on Public Libraries*, 1876, p. 378.

[2] The Mercantile Library printed catalogues in 1844, 1848, 1854, 1858, 1869.

[3] It printed catalogues in 1847 and 1873.

[4] Dr. H. A. Homes on "State Libraries" in the *Report on Public Libraries*, 1876, p. 292.

[5] It printed catalogues in 1831, 1839, 1846, 1858, and 1880, — the last, ample and creditable. The library at present has forty-six thousand volumes, ten thousand pamphlets, two hundred volumes of manuscripts, and is under the charge of Mr. C. B. Tillinghast as acting librarian.

sions, beginning in 1825; and that of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, established in 1828.[1]

The decade from 1830 to 1840 was not prolific in new attempts. The small beginnings, however, of what is now the excellent library of the Boston Society of Natural History were undertaken in 1831. Harvard College Library had grown to be of considerable value; but President Quincy in 1833 failed to influence the Legislature to protect it by a suitable building, and Gore Hall rose from private munificence.[2] In 1837 an article in the *North American Review* drew attention to the poverty of American libraries. In 1838 Mr. Lemuel Shattuck, in the city council, offered some suggestions about the preservation of documents; but no action was taken. In 1837 a movement, copied after action in New York State, had been set on foot by Horace Mann to establish district-school libraries; and up to 1850, when the law was repealed, near one hundred thousand volumes were accumulated in over two thousand such collections, — which, however, did not prove to have vitality, and little or no trace of the system is now observable. A more fruitful movement was preparing.

As early as 1825 there had been a scheme of co-operation proposed, by which all the libraries and allied institutions in Boston should be united under one roof,[3] but it came to nought. The next effort was to proceed from one who had acquired some notoriety as a French conjurer, M. Alexandre. Preferring to be known by his patronymic in this more serious business, M. Vattemare, as Guizot said, entered as early as 1830, "with the energy of a man possessed of a fixed thought," upon a mission to build up libraries through international exchanges. On his second visit to America in 1840–41, securing the countenance of Abbott Lawrence, he introduced his scheme to Congress.[4] John Quincy Adams gave him a god-speed to Boston, and in April, 1841, the *Daily Advertiser* and other papers were writing up his project. President Quincy encouraged him, and saw "but few obstacles and great advantages" in the grand conglomerate institution with its great public library, which should gather together all the collections and unify the intellectual movements of the city. Distinguished citizens called a public meeting. Edwin P. Whipple moved resolutions of affiliation in the Mercantile Library Association. Judge Story smiled upon the undertaking. At the meeting, May 5, the mayor, Jonathan Chapman, presided; a committee was appointed, and fourteen associations were invited to enter the league. A showing was made that $100,000, to be raised by subscription with aid from the city, would be sufficient to begin with. A committee of the Athenæum (W. T. Andrews, Edward Wigglesworth, and N. I. Bowditch) first uttered the sentiment of those who had kept

[1] It printed catalogues in 1867 and 1873.

[2] It was first occupied in 1840, the books then numbering forty thousand.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* i. 384. The younger Buckminster had had dreams of one grand united library and museum as early as 1806. His own library of three thousand volumes was the most valuable private collection in Boston in the early years of this century. It was dispersed by public sale after his death. *Lives of the Buckminsters*, 323, 398, 438.

[4] *Doc. XXVI. Cong. 1st Sess., Nos.* 50, 586.

J. Lowell [1]

outside the range of Vattemare's enthusiasm, and held that institution in opposition; and the fever subsided almost as rapidly as it had arisen.

The agitation, however, had induced the public to look at what their library facilities really were. Taking all kinds of libraries, some of them insignificant, and divided into circulating (10), social (36), and school (15),

[1] This cut follows a portrait by Stuart, painted about 1824, and owned by Mr. John A. Lowell, by whose kind permission it is engraved. Mr. Lowell was one of the founders of the Athenæum; later, its president; and the original draft of its charter still exists, in his hand. Quincy's *History of the Boston Athenæum*. The Lowell family figures so largely in several chapters of this work, that it may be desirable to make clear here their kinship: —

Judge JOHN LOWELL,
b. 1743; H. C. 1760; removed to Boston in 1777; lived where the Albion Building stands; later in Roxbury, where he died in 1802.

John, b. 1769; H. C. 1786; d 1840; his likeness given herewith.
John Amory.

Francis C. b. 1775; H. C. 1793; the town, *Lowell*, named for him; d. 1817, at Boston.
John, b 1799; d. 1836; founder of Lowell Institute.

The Rev. Charles.
Charles Russell — *General C. R. Lowell.* (See Vol. III.)
James Russell.
Robert Trail Spence.

it was found that Boston, then containing eighty-one thousand nine hundred and eighty-four inhabitants, had, of a somewhat public kind, about sixty libraries, mostly very small, containing in the aggregate one hundred and fourteen thousand six hundred and eighty-three volumes, — largely duplicates, of course, but still sufficient, if the College Library at Cambridge be added, to place Boston of all American cities far ahead for such facilities.

Meanwhile, Vattemare was pushing his favorite project of international exchanges, and in return for some gifts of books which had been forwarded through him to the Municipal Council of Paris, the Mayor received in 1843 a set of about fifty volumes, — the incipient collection, which, growing a little afterward by accessions from the same source, in a few years, under other auspices, became the nucleus of our great Public Library.[1]

It was certainly now high time that something should be done, to enable American scholars to pursue studies in a creditable way. Judge Story might well doubt if America could furnish a single library where Gibbon's references could be verified. George Livermore said, in 1850, that all our libraries did not enable us to write the history of the *New England Primer*. Ticknor and Prescott could not pursue their studies without gathering libraries for the purpose. Professor Jewett, in 1847, said that not one American library could meet the wants of a student in any department. It was this poverty of our public collections which induced the formation of not a few important private collections in different parts of the country; and they have exemplified the truth expressed by Thomas Watts of the British Museum, that the chief use of private libraries is to feed public collections.[2]

The town of Orange, Mass., as early as 1846 had made a small appropriation to support a town library, though no enabling act had at that time been passed by the State Legislature. In 1847 President Wayland of Brown

[1] Whatever we think of Vattemare, whether we call him an enthusiast, or something worse or better, we must recognize his contagious energy, which induced State after State to succumb to his representations, so that by 1853 he had brought one hundred and thirty libraries and institutions within his operations; and between 1847 and 1851 had brought from France for American libraries 30,655 volumes, beside maps, engravings, etc. See *U. S. House Doc.* 1844, No. 539; 1848, Nos. 99, 590, 839; *Senate Doc.* 1848, No. 46; 1850, No. 126; *Mass. Senate Doc.* 1845, Nos 26, 40; 1850, No. 117; *Mass. House Doc.* 1849, No. 151. It is certain that Vattemare considered the pioneers of 1841 as the originators of our great Public Library. The Hon. R. C. Winthrop in 1855, in his address at the laying the corner-stone of the Boylston Street building, in some sort recognized this claim. When the same gentleman spoke, Jan. 1, 1858, at the dedication of the building, he said that he left it to others to "do justice to the original projectors and founders of the institution;" but no one on that occasion attempted to indicate them, because unseemly feelings of disparagement and pretension had been shown here and there over the question of individual relations to the project. The papers growing out of this 1841 movement are now, by the act both of Vattemare and Mr. Quincy, in the Public Library. The exchange system gradually lost favor. George Livermore discouraged it in 1850; Panizzi disapproved it; Henry Stevens showed the cost of it to be much more than the return. All this time Guizot and some others were convinced of its great value. Vattemare continued some fitful performances in this way till his death in 1864. His son proposed to continue the arrangement; but the State Department at Washington, seeking the advice of Professor Jewett, fortunately failed to be again led into it.

[2] Of the chief private libraries of thirty years ago, the Force Collection (Washington) is now a part of the Library of Congress; the Lenox (New York) has become a public library; the Barton (of New York) and a principal part of the Ticknor (Boston) collections are now in the Public Library of this city.

University offered five hundred dollars to the town of Wayland, Mass., provided an equal sum should be granted by the town. The question of the legality of such an appropriation was raised, and it resulted in rendering each tax-payer's burden voluntary, not compulsory. In this way the library was established, and was opened in 1850. Under this state of affairs, a representative from that town introduced into the State Legislature, in 1851, a bill to legalize within moderate limits a tax-levy for the founding and support of public libraries by towns. It became a law, and was subsequently so modified that in the end (1866) all limitation as to amount was removed, and later still (1870) even parts of townships could combine for such purposes.

But before this general action Boston had taken steps in the same direction. Its city council had appointed in 1847 a joint committee on a library. Its mayor (Josiah Quincy, Jr.) had offered $5,000 for such a library, on condition that $10,000 should be added; but the city council and the public neglected the offer. On March 12 of the next year (1848), however, a special act of the Legislature was passed which authorized the city of Boston to found and maintain a library; and on April 3 the city accepted the act. Efforts were at once made to effect a union of interests with the Athenæum,[1] with a view to making that library the foundation of the new library; but the efforts failed, and, it seems now, happily. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop gave, in 1849, the first books under the new incentive. The next year, August 5, the Hon. John P. Bigelow, then mayor of the city, agreed with his friends that the sum of $1,000, which had been raised as a personal testimonial to him, should go toward a library fund,—and this proved to be the first gift of money. Some time before this the Hon. Edward Everett had signified his intention of making a more important gift, but (through no fault of Mr. Everett) it was not consummated till two days after Mr. Bigelow's; and this was a thousand volumes of United States documents, the fruit of his collecting at Washington, and which, with the subsequent accession of the collection of Josiah Quincy, and other additions, has formed what is considered the best set of such documents in existence.

The accumulations having now become considerable, a librarian (Mr. Edward Capen) was appointed May 13, 1852, by the Mayor, who anticipated an action properly belonging to its Board of Trustees, which was organized only a few days later, May 24, when Mr. Everett became its first president.[2] On July 6 this board made a preliminary report, sketching with some fulness the idea which they entertained of what such a library should be. The body of this report was drawn by George Ticknor,[3] who threw him-

[1] Quincy's *History of Boston Athenæum*, p. 186.

[2] Mr. Everett was succeeded in 1865 by George Ticknor; who in turn was followed in 1866 by William W. Greenough, the present president, who has served already as trustee a term of twenty-five years, marked by a devoted interest in the library's welfare.

[3] There is an account of Mr. Ticknor's connection with the library in the *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, vol. ii. ch. xv. See also a paper by the present writer in *Scribner's Monthly*, 1872. The *Annual Reports* of the library are the best summary of its progress and register of its administrative development.

self heartily into the movement, with a spirit of progress and liberality much in advance of what some of his associates of the board, particularly Mr. Everett, thought desirable. The views of the report were so acceptable that they elicited some generous responses from the citizens; but it was destined to produce the most striking results in the mind of a distinguished citizen of London, then at the head of the great banking-house of Baring Brothers. This gentleman, Joshua Bates, was a native of Weymouth in this State, and had suffered from the want of public facilities for reading when, as a young man, he was making his way in Boston. The city was now applying to his firm for a loan; and, as evidences of its prosperity, had sent to him various documents, among others this report of July 6. He recognized among the signers of it the names of gentlemen in whom he had confidence; and remembering his early experience, and incited by kindly feelings toward a city which was almost the place of his nativity, he promptly, on October 1, communicated to the Mayor his willingness to expend $50,000 for books, if the city would provide a building. A week before this letter was received, the city council had passed the first library ordinance. The offer of Mr. Bates made sure at once what was likely, however, in due time to have been attained; for it was not then known that the Hon. Jonathan Phillips had before this (Sept. 28, 1849) drawn a will bequeathing $20,000 "to the maintenance of a free public library." The same gentleman now, under the impulse of the general feeling, made a separate, immediate gift of $10,000 "for the purchase of books."[1] Thus encouraged, the trustees started a reading-room in Mason Street on March 20, 1854, and on May 2 a library connected with it was also opened. In the following November a commission was appointed to erect the library building, with the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop as chairman, and the corner-stone was laid Sept. 17, 1855. The building was completed and dedicated Jan. 1, 1858.[2] Meanwhile the collection of popular books in Mason Street had been successfully administered under Mr. Capen; while a rich accumulation of the higher class of books had been constantly arriving from Mr. Bates, whose agents purchased according to lists sent from Boston. These accessions were made ready for future shelving in a building in Boylston Place, hired for the purpose. To organize this most important part of the library, and to give the chief control of the whole to a skilled hand, an ordinance of the city was passed, March, 1853, creating the office of superintendent;

[1] This was on April 14, 1853. The other sum was received, after his death, April, 1861; and the two to-day constitute, after Mr. Bates's $50,000, the largest single fund of the library. In addition to this fund Mr. Bates also spent $50,000 for books. See *A Memorial to Joshua Bates from the City of Boston*, 1865.

The other principal money gifts have been: $10,000 under Hon. Abbott Lawrence's will; $4,000 from Miss Mary P. Townsend's executors; $10,000 from Charlotte Harris for the benefit of the Charlestown branch; $4,000 from Mr. George Ticknor; $5,000 from Hon. Henry L. Pierce; $1,500 from Dr. Samuel A. Green; and $1,000 each from Samuel Appleton, Esq. and The Franklin Club.

[2] It had cost, with the land, $365,000. A volume was issued, giving the *Proceedings of the Dedication*, which includes a history of the movement and description of the building, together with the addresses by Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Everett, and Mayor Rice.

CHARLES COFFIN JEWETT.[1]

while an act of the Legislature removed the limitations of expenditures which the previous act had fixed.

To fill the new office, choice was made of Charles Coffin Jewett, who thus became the first general executive of the library. Under his supervi-

[1] This cut follows a photograph now in the library. Mr. Jewett was born in Lebanon, Maine, in 1816; graduated at Brown University in 1835; and pursued Oriental and theological studies at Andover with the intention of becoming a missionary, but so narrow a chance as missing the sailing of a vessel changed the current of his life. He became librarian of Brown University in 1841, and subsequently, in the same institution, a professor of modern languages and literature, still keeping the librarianship, and visiting Europe for the purchase of books. In 1848 he resigned, to become assistant secretary and librarian of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. While here he published the earliest general survey of American libraries, — *Notices of Public Libraries in the United States*, — which remained the only considerable account (supplemented by another, by the present writer, in the *Report of the Boston Public Library*, in 1869) till the bureau of education issued their encyclopedic volume in 1876. He also proposed a system of national cataloguing, through the agency of the Smithsonian Institution, in stereo-

sion the library flourished for ten years. It received, — beyond the ordinary accessions from its funds and casual gifts, — first, in 1858, the library which had been formed by the late Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch,[1] and which, since his death, had been maintained by his sons as a public library of reference; then, in 1860, that of the Rev. Theodore Parker;[2] several special collections, including ancient classics and books on Molière and in the Provençal literature, from Mr. Ticknor; the Prince Library, by deposit (a collection referred to earlier in this chapter); and the earnest and promise of the Patent Specifications of Great Britain, a donation still in progress. The library funds were also considerably increased.[3]

In the autumn and early winter of 1858 the reading-room and the lower-hall library of the new building were opened.[4] The main collection of the upper hall was not made accessible till 1861.[5] Mr. Jewett added to a careful bibliographical training an inventive mind and great industry; and under his care the library developed a system suited to a large circulation, with all the attendant and necessary complexity of checks which could render that circulation safe while being free. It was not long before the library became the centre of experience the most valuable for all charged with similar duties, far and near.[6]

typing titles for distribution; but it was never practically applied, except in an experimental way. In the diverse interpretations of Smithson's will, Professor Jewett argued for a great library as the most efficient method for the diffusion of knowledge; and Professor Henry, for exclusive devotion to science and publication of treatises. This led to a controversy, under these champions, between the literary and scientific classes of that day, acting through their representatives in the Board of Regents. It resulted in a numerical defeat of Mr. Jewett's side, and led to his resignation and that of Mr. Rufus Choate, who had urgently supported his views in the Board of Regents. The necessary sequel was the transfer of the library, which Mr. Jewett had gathered, to the library of Congress.

[1] Largely mathematical, two thousand five hundred and fifty volumes; and increased since 1877 by a yearly gift of $500 from Mr. J. Ingersoll Bowditch, a son of the original owner.

[2] Numbering eleven thousand and sixty-one volumes, recently increased by her own books and a reserve kept by his widow during her lifetime.

[3] See an earlier note.

[4] A catalogue of the Mason Street Library had been printed in 1854, and the original lower-hall catalogue was issued in 1858, on a plan since widely followed, which is the fruit of Mr. Jewett's discrimination.

[5] It was opened with seventy-four thousand volumes, and, with the lower hall, the entire library now held ninety-seven thousand three hundred and eighty-six volumes. The first volume of what is now known as the *Bates Hall Index* (catalogue) was issued at this time; and it was the most advanced specimen of library cataloguing which had then been produced in America. Before its *Supplement* was issued in 1866 Mr. Bates had died, Sept. 24, 1864, and the upper hall was then styled the Bates Hall. It was a just recognition of what he had done for the library, and happily fell short of the unwise proceeding, so common, in giving to an institution the name of a prominent or even chief benefactor. It usually happens that such prominence finds no one later anxious to dispute it. We are not without melancholy instances of such handicapping among libraries in this country.

[6] Among the more important of the devices which this library has bestowed upon others was the displacement of the old traditional method of recording loans, on a ledger system, by a plan of slips, introduced by Mr. Jewett in 1866, but improved upon to insure much greater expedition, as experience grew. The card system for the catalogue was due rather to Mr. Folsom of the Athenæum, but under Mr. Jewett it became much better known, and is now widely adopted. It is not by any means certain, however, that it will continue to be so highly esteemed as it has been in the past. What has been called the "decimal system," in the arrangement of the books on the shelves, was due to one of the trustees, Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, who, however, failed to give it all the flexibility which belongs to it, and which renders it in other hands far better in adaptation than in the hands

Mr. Jewett died suddenly on Jan. 9, 1868. The shock was a severe one to the library. The assistant superintendent, Professor William E. Jillson,[1] was in confirmed ill health, and, declining advancement, soon died.

In the absence of any responsible executive the care of the institution devolved upon Mr. Justin Winsor, one of its trustees, who a few weeks later (February 25) was confirmed in the executive office by his late associates on the board.

Of Mr. Winsor's administration, which lasted for nearly ten years, his *Annual Reports*, and particularly his last, that for 1877, recapitulating the library's progress during his connection with it, must tell the story. The library increased from 144,000 volumes to 320,000. Its first branch was established at East Boston in 1871, and seven others were added.[2] Its circulation grew from 209,000 to nearly 1,200,000; the daily average issues from 754 to 4,000. The loss of books from unfaithful borrowers, meanwhile, had been so checked that while in 1867 it was more than one in a thousand, in 1877 it was one in ten thousand, delivered. The number of days on which the library was closed was reduced from eighty-six to the five legal holidays.[3] The capacity of the central building was doubled by changes in the interior and by extensions. In the printed catalogues some new developments took place, calculated to assist the readers to a more intelligent choice of books.[4]

of its projector. See *A Decimal System for the Arrangement and Administration of Libraries*, by N. B. Shurtleff, Boston, privately printed, 1856.

[1] Mr. Jillson was the head of the catalogue department, and was succeeded in this duty by Mr. William A. Wheeler, well known for his lexicographical labors, at whose death in October, 1874, the library suffered another great loss. His assistant, Mr. James L. Whitney, was advanced to the chief position, and has since held it.

[2] These were at South Boston in 1872–73; at Roxbury in 1873–74, where a union was made with the Fellowes Athenæum, and a new building erected; at Charlestown and Brighton, the same year, by assuming the charge of the libraries existing in those places before the annexation of them; at Dorchester in 1874–75; at the South End, where the Mercantile Library added their books, and at Jamaica Plain, in 1877–78. There was also a delivery at Dorchester Lower Mills, dependent on the Branch at Field's Corner. Since this date a delivery has been established at Roslindale, and a secondary branch at West Roxbury, upon the basis of the privately supported free library previously existing there.

[3] This was brought about by the introduction, in 1869, of a method of continuous examination of the library, instead of a periodic one, a process impracticable but for the slip system of registration of loans, and never before attempted in a large library, with the aim of keeping the circulating work in progress at the same time. Its success here has led to its general adoption.

[4] This system, which has earned the name of the Educational Catalogue, began first with an experiment of arranging the titles of historical fiction in their relation to chronological events, and by countries and persons. The first issue of the *Chronological Index to Historical Fiction* was made in 1871. A second enlarged edition appeared in 1875. It was subsequently embodied as notes to a *Catalogue of English Prose Fiction*, in 1877, in which were also given, as parallels, the books for the general reader, essential to give an historical narrative as an accompaniment to the imaginative rendering. Before this an annotated *Catalogue of History, Biography, and Travel* had been largely illustrated with notes for the reader's guidance. These catalogues, giving system and development to a plan barely indicated in any similar way before, had large effect upon the character of the reading in the popular departments of the library, and were copied and borrowed from throughout the country. The same system was also applied to the catalogues of the branches, notably to that of the Roxbury Branch. Just before Mr. Jewett's death he had issued the first number of a *Bulletin* of accessions, and this was afterward made the vehicle of bibliographical contributions pertaining to the higher as well as more popular literature. Notes of a more scholarly character, which were added in some degree to the *Prince*

It had soon become evident, after Mr. Bates's gift was assured, that the experiment of a free library was to be tried in Boston on a scale of considerable magnitude; but in the beginning no just conception of the possibilities of the scheme was entertained. When its building, calculated to hold less than a quarter of a million of volumes, was dedicated, the orator was thought to anticipate correctly when he proclaimed it to be sufficiently large for a century to come. In less than twenty years it was enlarged to hold twice its original complement. The library's success has proved the possibility of organizing, for very large free use, an extensive collection of books; and none of the free libraries of England, whose system is of even date of origin with the American, has wholly matched it in development. It soon became an anxious question how far its management could remain with safety in close connection with the city government. Some of its original friends and organizers very early saw signs of the coming evil, and thought the fatal issue was sure in due time to arrive. In 1877 it came. It was a period of general financial distress. The cost of maintaining the library was large, although its expenses had fallen far short of being commensurate with its increase of accessions and attendant business. In fact the cost of circulating its books, proportioned to the grand total of expenditure, was only two-fifths in 1877 of what it had been in 1867. It seemed to the best citizens, however, that the time had come to economize. The library had a management which was ready to apportion its expenses to the exigencies which had arisen; but the city council assumed to regulate the details of a method of economy, and so encroached upon the necessary functions of the management, and did it with such lack of knowledge, that confusion and injustice resulted. In this contingency Mr. Winsor resigned, and accepted the librarianship of Harvard University. The friends of the library rallied in its defence; and even the city council, on a sober second thought, did not oppose an application to the State Legislature for an act of incorporation for the library, which was in due time secured. This practically limited the interference of the city government to defining the gross limit of expenditures, so far as they were met from the city treasury.

During an interval of abeyance, one of its trustees, Dr. Samuel A. Green, at much personal sacrifice, filled its chief executive office until, in 1878, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, resigning his seat on the bench of the municipal court, was chosen its first librarian (as the officer was now called) under the new constitution.[1]

Catalogue, assumed much larger proportions in the *Ticknor Catalogue*. Arrangements for similar notes to the Shakespeare part of the *Barton Catalogue*, which had been made and tentatively exemplified during Mr. Winsor's term in his *Monthly Reports*, were abandoned with the change of administration in 1877.

[1] Under his administration a plan of much promise has been inaugurated, by which the library and the public schools are to work in unison in fostering, under direction, an inclination for reading among the younger classes. Methods of assisting readers in selecting books, which had long been contemplated (see *Report of* 1873, p. 30), but which had been checked by the control then exercised by the city council over the pay-roll, have been put in operation with success. In 1880, a petition asking for a grant of

It is necessary now to trace briefly the progress of the general library system of the city during this development of its crowning institution.

In 1850 Mr. George Livermore, in a timely article in the *North American Review*, had pointed out the deficiencies of our American libraries, and did much to draw attention to the subject. The period was a favorable one for forming libraries. The political disturbances in Europe had thrown vast collections of books upon the market; and Dr. Cogswell, who was at this time in Europe purchasing for the Astor Library, gave European collectors the first serious competition they had from America. Still prices ruled low. Although he was buying for a reference, rather than for a popular, library, he brought away from Europe sixty thousand volumes for sixty-three thousand dollars.

At this time (1850) the College Library at Cambridge, with its seventy-two thousand volumes, stood at the head of American libraries; and the census of this year gave Massachusetts seventy-eight libraries and about two hundred thousand volumes, — no other State approaching her.[1]

Boston was certainly at this time and in this respect the favored section of America; and in addition to her public collection, her private libraries were often put at the service of any accredited scholar.[2] Already a few years earlier, in 1845, the foundations had been laid of the collection which now makes the rooms of the New England Historic Genealogical Society one of the centres of antiquarian research. The Theological School, which subsequently became a part of the Boston University, began its collection in 1847. At Roxbury, its Athenæum started in 1848, and is still at work; though its namesake, the Dorchester Athenæum, dating ten years later, has recently come to an end. The twin workers which early brought books to bear as a part of their appliances for good, the Young Men's Christian Association and

land on the corner of Dartmouth and Boylston streets, for the erection of a new central building, was presented to the legislature. The friends of the measure, to secure its passage, consented to a provision which gave all inhabitants of the Commonwealth privileges in the library to be kept in this building equal to those enjoyed by the citizens of Boston. In this form the bill was passed; but by some oversight the bill which was presented to the governor for his approval was without this provision, and the city council promptly accepted the untrammelled offer. The grant of land not being large enough, it is now in contemplation to buy adjacent lots. A beginning of the building must be made within three years from the date of grant to secure the land.

[1] The city of Paris at this time had half as many more volumes in her libraries as all the United States together; and the city of Munich nearly as many. If we reckon the volumes in public libraries at so many per capita, the United States could hardly show more than four or five, while Great Britain showed fifty-three; Prussia, two hundred; and Saxony, — the highest, — four hundred and seventeen.

[2] We have some means of forming an approximate estimate of many of these private collections at that time, in Luther Farnham's *Private Libraries of Boston*, in Mr. Livermore's paper already referred to, and in an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1850. A part of them were as follows: Charles Francis Adams (general, 18,000 volumes); George Ticknor (classics, modern literature, particularly Spanish and Portuguese, 13,000 volumes); Theodore Parker (general, 13,000 volumes); Abbott Lawrence (10,000); Edward Everett (7,500); Dr. John C. Warren (6,000); Francis C. Gray (4,000); Franklin Haven (4,000); David Sears (4,000); Richard Frothingham (in Charlestown, 4,000); George Livermore (in Cambridge, 2,000 to 3,000); Charles Deane (in Cambridge, 2,500); W. H. Prescott (6,000); Rufus Choate (6,500); E. A. Crowninshield (2,500); Jared Sparks (in Cambridge, 6,000); Thomas Dowse (in Cambridge, 5,000); Nathaniel Bowditch (2,500); Samuel G. Drake (6,000); etc.

the Young Men's Christian Union, began their labors each in 1851. In 1853 the first collections were formed of the Congregational Library, which, under the assiduous care of its librarian, has become a place of resort for the student in our history. In 1860 the General Theological Library was begun;[1] and in 1875, what is destined to be a special collection of importance was established by the Boston Medical Library Association.[2] Apart from collections which naturally grow up under the influence of literary or other special institutions, these are the latest libraries founded in Boston.

[1] What is now the considerable collection of Boston College (Catholic) was begun in 1864.

[2] Beside the departments of the Public Library and the Athenæum devoted to this subject, there are the Treadwell and other collections at the Massachusetts General Hospital, the libraries of the schools of medicine of Harvard and Boston Universities, and that of the City Hospital.

CHAPTER III.

PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHT IN BOSTON.

BY GEORGE RIPLEY, LL.D., AND GEORGE P. BRADFORD.

THE brief space allotted to the subject of the present chapter permits only a few rapid notices (mostly from personal recollections) of some of the eminent men who have exerted a marked influence on the tendency and development of thought in Boston during the nineteenth century, without any attempt at the profound discussion of philosophical principles, or the illustration of their character and influence. No powerful school of philosophy, with the qualities of unity and permanence, has sprung up among the people of Boston; but several individual, isolated essays have been made by her studious and thoughtful men to reach a higher sphere of intellectual life, which are perhaps entitled to a place in the modest records of speculative opinion.

In treating the subject of the following pages, I shall regard the University of Cambridge and the city of Boston as so closely identified in all the relations of literature and cultivation, that no account can be given of the intellectual progress of one, without assigning a large and most conspicuous place to the influence of the other. The prominent thinkers of Boston, with few exceptions, have been children of Harvard; most of them have been the pupils of her schools; many of them teachers in her halls, and the ministers of her discipline. With the widest differences of mental habit and achievement, wearing their opinions like the Hebrew garment of many colors, forming no sect for winning proselytes, no clan for urging conquests, they have met only on the common ground of love of learning, interest in the pursuit of truth, and affectionate devotion to the fair and venerable "mother of their minds."

Soon after the beginning of the present century an intellectual movement arose in Massachusetts which has been not unhappily compared to the Renaissance in Italy, that succeeded the dreary monotony of the Middle Ages. Art, letters, poetry, philosophy, social intercourse, domestic culture, public education, alike felt the genial impulse. The cradle and centre of this movement was Harvard College. Without precisely defining the date,

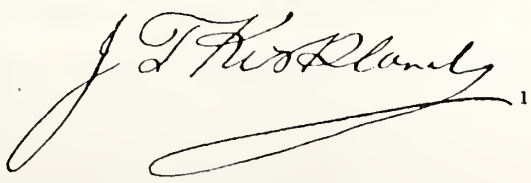
the accession of John Thornton Kirkland to the presidency of the college, in 1810, may be said to mark the beginning of the era which has been so prolific in its results and so auspicious in its influence.

President Kirkland, indeed, made no pretensions to the character of a pioneer or a discoverer in the sphere of philosophy. His admirably balanced mind was not speculative, much less controversial. He had little genius, and no taste for the discussion of purely abstract questions; nor was he profoundly versed in the history of opinions: but the transparent clearness of his mental perceptions, the fine and subtile delicacy of his ethical instincts, his sympathy with whatever was rare and beautiful in literature, and the sagacity and firmness of his common-sense created around him an atmosphere in the highest degree favorable to the cultivation of thought, freedom of research, and frankness of expression. His personal aversion to the toil of composition has prevented him from leaving any adequate memorial of his affluent mind; but the magnetic charm of his conversation, the sweet amenity of his manner, and the quaint and fertile suggestions of his original imagination, must always be noted among the influences which led to the revival of a sound literature and an ideal philosophy among the descendants of the Puritans.

Seven years after the entrance of Dr. Kirkland upon the presidency, the chair of Moral Philosophy was filled by the appointment of Professor Levi Frisbie (1817), a graduate of the celebrated class of 1802, who held the office until his death, in 1822. During the brief period of five years he gave an impulse to the study of philsophy, and a direction to its subsequent development, which form an important feature in the history of modern thought in the vicinity of Boston. Professor Frisbie was a man of a peculiar and remarkable nature. His influence was founded on his personal character rather than on his writings. A chronic infirmity of sight prevented his free use of the pen, and his stores of learning and speculation were illustrated by his oral teachings in the class-room, and not by the composition of books. His presence afforded a lucid example of the ideal beauty of human character, or, to use the words of Professor Norton, his friend and biographer, of "the holy charm of moral loveliness," while the sweetness and dignity of his discourse inspired the fancy that the classical bees of Plato had once more settled on modern lips. A devotee of ancient literature, especially of the Latin classics, he was deeply interested in the whole range of elegant letters in the English language. He was a fervent admirer of the terse vigor and ethical severity of Tacitus, while his æsthetic tastes inspired him with a profound sympathy with the graceful ease and masculine sense of the writings of Maria Edgeworth. He was equally addicted to the cultivation of poetry and the study of philosophy. His rare speculative insight was united with singular critical acuteness, a lively and delicate fancy, and an unerring taste in literary composition. The influence of Professor Frisbie was not lost on the plastic minds that waited reverently on his words, and has been reproduced more or less directly

in the solution of high problems of philosophy from that day to the present.

Professor Frisbie's examination of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, first published in 1819, is a master-piece of philosophical analy-



sis, pointing out the defects and shortcomings of the author with equal insight and discrimination, and incidentally exposing the superficial and un-

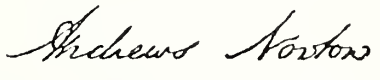
[1] [This cut follows Stuart's likeness of Dr. Kirkland (b. 1770, d. 1840) owned by his nephew, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, D.D., who kindly permitted it to be engraved, and says: "It is painted on wood, badly prepared. With the exception of this defect, it is a splendid portrait and an admirable likeness." It was probably painted in 1810, when Kirkland was forty years old, and was just become President of Harvard College. — ED.]

tenable conclusions of Paley, who until that time had been an important ethical authority with American students. The point which Professor Frisbie insisted on most urgently in his lectures on moral philosphy was the independent character of the idea of Right. This was an emphatic departure from the empirical theory of the sensuous philosophy, — the philosophy founded on the experience of the senses, as the antithesis of the intuitions of the soul, and which will be designated respectively in this chapter, and without any invidious intent, as the Sensuous and the Intuitive systems, — in which the followers of Locke and Paley had found a placid repose, and which had been made the cardinal principle of ethics in some of the most prominent seats of learning in this country. The spirit of Professor Frisbie's teachings is tersely expressed in a sentence from his inaugural discourse: "There will always be a Hobbes, a Rousseau, and a Godwin; let us then have also our Cudworths, our Butlers, and our Stewarts." The term Right, according to his theory, denotes an action which an intelligent moral agent is morally obliged to perform. Absolute right is a perception of the understanding — or, as we should say, the reason — discerning a real and inherent quality in actions. The idea of right is essentially distinct from that of utility, of the greatest happiness, of obedience to the divine will, or of a course of conduct determined by the assurance of reward or punishment. It is a simple idea; it can be described only by synonymous words; it possesses an identity of its own by its very essence, independent of any tendency or consequence. It is that which impresses the belief that an action should be performed, which we approve in the actions of others, and reflect upon with satisfaction in our own; which is perceived in a manner precisely similar to the perception of other ideas. The general tendency of right actions, Professor Frisbie affirms, is indeed to produce good or happiness; but the perception of right is distinct from the perception of happiness. There is another principle of action by which good is to be distributed besides a regard to the greatest good; and this principle is rectitude, or, in the widest sense, justice. Hence those actions are right which, on the whole, are of a nature to produce good or prevent harm, under the control of the principle of rectitude; but the idea of rectitude or absolute right is simple and intuitive, not the fruit of sensuous experience, of traditional teaching, of external authority, or of a rapacious selfhood. The ethical theory thus enunciated by Professor Frisbie forms the silver thread that runs through the most conspicuous philosophical suggestions — we can scarcely call them systems — which have found powerful representatives among the thinkers of Boston. It was the dawn of the intuitive philosophy, in its application to ethics, which has since cast a healing splendor over modern thought, and illustrated the place of Boston in the development of philosophy.

The name of Professor Levi Hedge, who succeeded to the chair of Moral Philosophy after the death of Professor Frisbie, although he had previously taught for a series of years in a kindred department of the college, recalls

the memory of a modest, capable, and faithful worker in the sphere of philosophy, whose example was a lesson in the pursuit of truth, in exactness of expression, in felicity of illustration, and in thoroughness of exposition. He was an adherent of the Scottish philosophy, as represented by Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown; and, as an expounder of their protest against the principles of Locke and of Paley, may be regarded as the fellow-laborer of Frisbie in anticipating the developments of the intuitive philosophy. His clearness of mind, his native good sense, his sound learning, and his austere integrity, gave him a wide influence among the clerisy of Massachusetts; and he will always hold an eminent place among the pioneers of philosophic thought in the capital of the State.

Contemporary with Professor Frisbie, and united with him by the most intimate ties of friendship and sympathy, was Andrews Norton, who, though trained in a different philosophical school, the principles of which he always cherished with singular tenacity, holds a distinguished place among the intellectual influences which have helped to stamp the society of Boston with an impress of liberal inquiry and original thought in the sphere of letters, philosophy, and art. Mr. Norton may be said to have formed a connecting link between the past and the future in American literary cultivation. He appeared at the moment when the scholastic attainments since the period of the Revolution were about to ripen into a more generous development. In early life he was far in advance of most of his contemporaries in sound and exact learning, and in what was then deemed an excessive freedom of speculation. He was connected with Harvard, first as tutor, then as librarian, and afterward as Professor of Sacred Literature. In each of these offices his influence was marked and salutary. His thorough scholarship served to give form and substance to the literary enthusiasm which at that time prevailed in Cambridge. His refined and exquisite taste cast an air of purity and elegance around the spirit of the place. His habits were as severe as those of a mediæval monk. His love of literature was a passion. The predominant qualities of his mind were clearness of perception, rigidity of judgment, accuracy of expression, and a chaste imagination. His peculiar sphere was that of theology and criticism, but no department of elegant letters was foreign to his tastes. Every scholar in Cambridge received an inspiring impulse from his example. The lucidity of his intellect, the depth of his erudition, and the choice felicities of his language presented a new standard of excellence, and gave a higher tone to the literary character of Boston. But the personal traits of Mr. Norton exerted a still more powerful influence. His hatred of pretension was equalled only by his devotion to truth. He spurned with a beautiful disdain whatever he deemed to be false, or shallow, or insincere. He demanded the stamp of genuineness, reality, harmony of proportion and perspective on everything which challenged his approval. His sympathies were not easily won, nor was he



lavish in the expression of even favorable judgments. He was free, perhaps, from what may be called moral suspicion, but he certainly often evinced an excess of intellectual caution. A man of stainless purity of purpose, of high integrity of life, with a profound sense of religion, and severe simplicity of manners, his example was a perpetual rebuke to the conceitedness of learning, the vanity of youthful scholarship, and the habit of "vain and shallow thought." His influence is deeply stamped on the literature of Harvard; the intellectual atmosphere has not yet lost the fragrance of his presence; and if he solved no deep problems of philosophy, if his insight was restricted within a comparatively narrow compass, and he failed to appreciate justly the philosophic tendencies of the age, yet the course of speculative thought in Boston, it is believed, is largely indebted to the influence of his character and example for whatever tincture of sound learning it may exhibit, for its thoroughness of inquiry, its accuracy of research, and its comparative freedom from extreme and erratic conclusions.

The tendency of Mr. Norton's mind in regard to themes of philosophical inquiry was in a sceptical direction. Adopting the cardinal principles of Locke and Hume in regard to the origin of knowledge and the foundations of belief, he pursued them with strict logical sequence to their natural conclusions. In his view there could be but two sources of ideas, — experience and testimony, — which in the final analysis were resolved into one. We have the teachings of experience in regard to the facts of the material universe; and concerning the realm of spiritualities, we are dependent on the authority of divine revelation. The human mind has no inherent faculty of perception in the sphere of facts which transcend the cognizance of the senses. We cannot rely upon the intuitions of reason as the ground of faith in the suggestions of the soul. The veracity of the human spirit as the condition of truth formed no part of his scheme of philosophy. There is no absolute certainty, Mr. Norton affirms, beyond the limit of momentary consciousness, — a certainty that vanishes at once into the region of metaphysical doubt. The doctrine of an intuitive faculty for discovering the truths of religion is utterly untenable; we are not conscious of possessing any such faculty, and there can be no other proof of its existence. Intuition can inform us of nothing but what exists in our own minds, including the relations of our own ideas; it is therefore a mere absurdity to maintain that we have an intuitive knowledge of the truths of religion. I am not aware that Mr. Norton reduced these principles to the form of a connected system, or that he would not have shrunk from the ultimate consequences which they involved. He held them, I think, as incidental to certain theories of dogmatic theology, of which he was the strenuous champion, rather than as a formal, coherent, and uniting body of philosophical truth; but that their spirit pervaded his writings, especially in the latter years of his life, and that they were interwoven with the whole fabric of his mental convictions, will not, I believe, be called in question by those who are the most intimately acquainted with the character of his mind and the tendency of

his opinions. The influence of Mr. Norton in philosophy, however, was provocative rather than creative; he led to doubt with regard to the ancient foundations rather than to sympathy with his peculiar ideas; he prepared the way for vigorous combat, and not for docile acceptance; and, like the influence of Hume on the virile mind of Kant, which "aroused him from his dogmatic slumbers," and sent him forth in quest of new achievements in the pursuit of truth, he inspired not a few of the earnest-minded young men of the day with a passionate zeal for the conquest of the holy Graal, — the discovery of the golden chalice which was brimming with pure wine for the life of the soul.

Geo. Ripley.

MR. RIPLEY was prevented from completing this chapter by his death. In accordance with his plan, of which he left a sketch, we shall continue the subject principally with an account of some of the persons and writers who may be considered as the exponents or organs of the various phases of thought, and whose works had a special influence in developing or directing its tendencies. The period beginning in 1830, or a little earlier, may be noted as one of especial activity and fertility in this respect as well as in many others. Among the salient points and conspicuous influences which marked this period we may signalize the early days of the *Liberator* and of Garrison, like "a voice crying in the wilderness;" the preaching and writings of Dr. Channing; the lectures and writings of Mr. Emerson; Dr. Hedge's articles in the *Christian Examiner* on German Philosophy, Coleridge, and other topics, and his Dudleian Lecture; Theodore Parker at West Roxbury, and later in Boston; Carlyle's various writings; the writings of Dr. O. A. Brownson; the conversations at the house of Dr. Channing, in which Mr. Jonathan Phillips, Dr. Follen, George Ripley, and others took part; the controversy between Professor Norton and Mr. Ripley; and the inception of the Brook Farm enterprise, and the steps taken for its actual realization in 1841.

The period thus indicated was one of great excitement of thought on moral and intellectual questions, especially with the young and the generation just coming upon the stage. Before the impulse given to the revival of thought which Mr. Ripley, in a general way, places about the time of the accession of Dr. Kirkland to the presidency of Harvard College, there had been little taste for abstract speculation, and the Sensuous System of Locke (to adopt, for convenience, the term used by Mr. Ripley) was generally accepted as authority on questions of this kind. A step away from this was taken when the famous *Essay on the Understanding* was disused as a text-book at Harvard, and the rational, but not very profound,

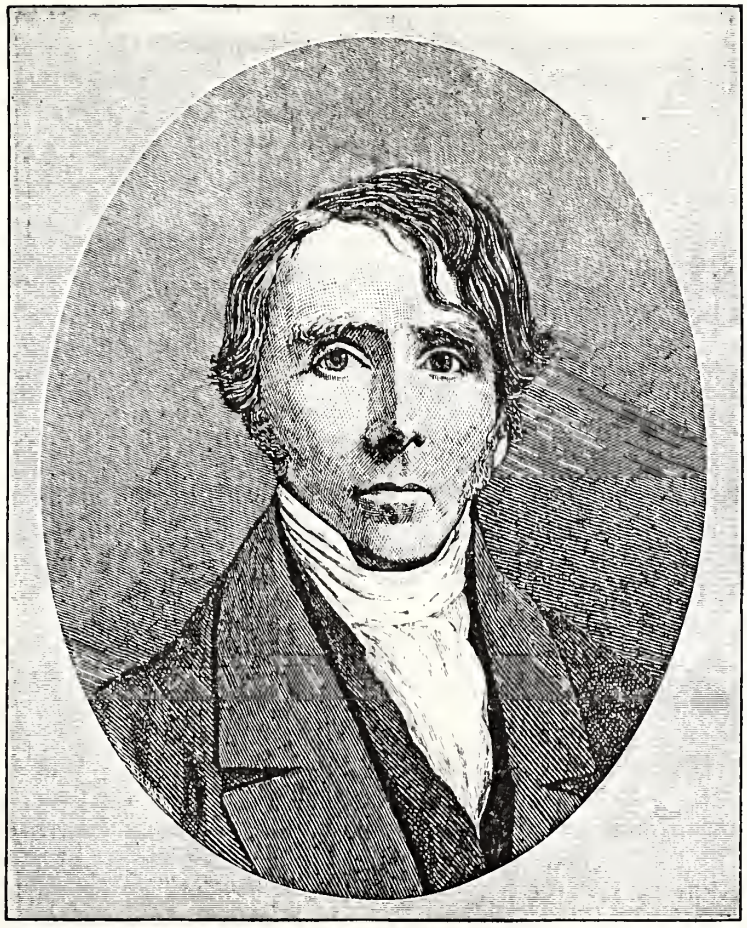
metaphysics of the Scotch school adopted in its place. The *Natural Theology*, *Evidences of Christianity*, and *Moral Philosophy* of Paley were text-books in the college, and were accepted, and perhaps generally acquiesced in, as authority in the fields of morals and theology. In this condition of thought the fervent eloquence of Channing, the inspiring words of Emerson and Carlyle, the stirring appeals of Parker and other reformers to high and abstract principles, came like a fresh and invigorating breeze into a dull and sluggish atmosphere.

Of the influences of which we have spoken, Dr. Channing's preaching and writings are among the earliest in point of time. His connection with our theological and Antislavery history has been treated by other hands.[1] He belonged quite decidedly and avowedly to what we may call, in accordance with the distinctive terms before indicated, the Intuitive School. This philosophy derives our knowledge from the intuitions of the soul, and is in opposition to that recognizing the senses and experience as its only ultimate source. We are informed by an intimate friend of Channing, who was very familiar with his thought, that he repudiated Locke's philosophy while in college, and accepted, on moral and metaphysical questions, the statements of Price in his *Dissertations on Matter and Spirit*, and of Hutcheson's moral philosophy. He recognized also a harmony between his own thought and that of the German systems of philosophy as reported by Madame de Staël. He acknowledged his obligation to the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and to the philosophy of the latter he considered himself specially and greatly indebted. He also read with pleasure Cousin's *Philosophy* and the writings of Carlyle, particularly his *Sartor Resartus*. These tastes will indicate, to those acquainted with the currents of thought at that period, his position with regard to the two parties, which we may designate as the Old and the New, — or, as the latter was called in the language of the time, the Transcendental School. This attitude of his, especially after his part in the Antislavery movement, and in advocating the broadest toleration and freedom in some unpopular cases, — like that of Abner Kneeland, who was indicted for blasphemy, — grieved some of his friends, and offended and disaffected others among the conservatives, who had been wont to listen with delight to his preaching, and who had reverenced the saintliness of his character. In the controversy between Professor Norton and Mr. Ripley we think his sympathy was with the latter, though the former had long been his personal friend.

Although Dr. Channing did not have occasion to advocate distinctly any special system of philosophy, yet the spirit of the school most in harmony with his own thought and pervading his preaching and writing, whose influence was so widely felt, must have had its effect on the prevailing thought of the day. Notwithstanding his philosophic tendencies were decidedly in the direction we have indicated, he must not be regarded as sympa-

[1] [See Dr. Peabody's and Dr. Clarke's chapters in Vol. III. — Ed.]

thizing fully with all the forms and phases of the Transcendental[1] movement; but his chief interest in philosophy we may suppose was in its rela-



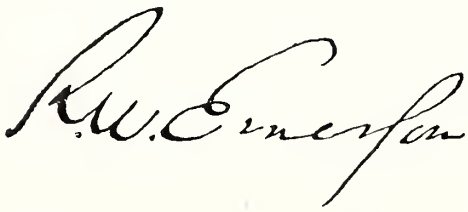
William E Channing[2]

tion to religion and morals; and this philosophy, in his view, formed the only true foundation for these.

[1] As we shall have frequent occasion to use the terms Transcendental, etc., we wish to say that this will not be in any very exact or strictly accurate sense, but in a rather vague and popular one, as convenient for our purpose to denote certain general tendencies of thought and opinion.

[2] [The literature regarding Channing is very extensive, and has recently received many new accessions on account of the centennial of his birth, April 7, 1880, — notably Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing*, the most important of the later contributions, which have included Dr. C. A. Bartol's Essay in his *Principles and Portraits*. See also the latter's article "Transcendentalism" in his *Radical Problems*, and Charles T. Brooks's *William Ellery Channing, a Centennial Memory*. The *Unitarian Review*, April, 1880, contained papers on him by Dr. J. H. Morison, George L. Chaney, and others. A volume, with an account of the Centennial Celebration in Brooklyn, was issued at Boston in 1880. Professor G. P. Fisher, of Yale, printed an estimate of him in the *International*

The fermentation of thought and feeling developed by the Transcendental movement, especially among the young, has, we think, nothing similar at the present day, and is something very interesting to recall: perhaps devotion to art and practical philanthropy have taken its place. Foremost among the influences that stimulated and sustained this state of feeling were the writings and the public addresses, lectures, etc. of Mr. Emerson. At first he was known to a small but admiring circle as a most interesting preacher, remarkable for independence and originality of thought as well as charm of style and manner; and by many, especially of the congregation of which he was pastor, and by those who knew him more familiarly, he was valued also for higher and more intimate qualities. But he had not much attracted the notice of the general public until his opinion and action in relation to the observance of the communion service caused a good deal of feeling in the body of Christians with which he was associated. As he could not, with his views, continue to administer the rite, his connection with the society of which he was the minister was dissolved. After his return from a visit to Europe he gave a number of lectures; and several of them relating to his tour abroad were of a descriptive character. These were afterward followed by several courses in 1835 and successive years; and, besides, he delivered public addresses on different occasions. The subjects of these discourses were some of a literary, but mostly of a philosophical and ethical, character.[1]



In 1836 appeared a little volume called *Nature*, which, like his other early works, excited the enthusiastic admiration of some, and provoked the adverse criticism or ridicule of others. The earlier courses of the lectures are pleasantly associated, in the recollections of some, with the hall of the Old Masonic Temple in which they were given; and they constituted an era in the social and literary history of Boston, as well as in the life and culture of many individuals. They were looked for from year to year as one of the special pleasures of the winter season. Thus the influence of his writings, but more particularly of his lectures, was deeply and widely felt. To his hearers they seemed to open a new world,—new charms in literature, in Nature, and in thought; new and deeper delights and significance in living,

Review, July, 1879, included also in his *Discussions*. Thomas Hughes's Paper on "Dr. Channing the Abolitionist" is in *Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1880. He is one of the subjects of James Freeman Clarke's *Memorials*. Of the earlier books, William H. Channing's *Memoir and Correspondence of W. E. Channing*, Boston, 1854, 3 vols., is the authoritative life; and it may be supplemented by the *Correspondence of W. E. Channing and Lucy Aiken*, 1826–1842, edited by Anna Letitia le Breton, Boston, 1874. The French know him through Rémusat's *Channing, sa vie et ses œuvres*, based on W. H. Channing's Life of him; Renan's *Studies of Religious History*; Lavollée's *Channing, sa vie et sa doctrine*, 1876; and Laboulaye's estimate, which originally appeared in the *Journal des Débats*, 1852, and is now prefixed to the French translation of Channing's Works. — ED.]

[1] Here are some of them: "Philosophy of History," "Conduct of Life," "Representative Men," "Human Life," "Human Culture," etc.

— giving an interpretation of their own minds, souls, and being, so different from the dogmatic formulas and conventional statements common in that sterility of thought in which "the hungry sheep look up, and are not fed." To what were these effects due? What was the secret of this influence? We may say, perhaps, that it was the assertion of the high powers, dignity, and integrity of the soul, its absolute independence and right to interpret for itself the meaning of life, untrammelled by tradition and conventions; the assertion of the soul with its ideas and instincts as the oracle within, the source to us of knowledge and thought in its intimate connection with the source of all life and truth; of the right and duty of all to look at truth and the facts of the universe face to face, thus calling to self-reliance and cheerful hope; teaching and inspiring by his own deep conviction the reality of truth and good; opening glimpses of the eternal beauty, and imparting the joy of high thoughts and lofty purpose. These, with the incidental charm of the beauty, piquancy, and condensed expressiveness of his style; the refined simplicity of his manner; the calm earnestness and sincerity pervading his words, — combined with the remarkable ethical character, the power of touching the springs of highest moral emotion and of lifting his hearers into a loftier sphere, "an ampler ether, a diviner air," — were some of the attractions which drew year after year, with increasing interest, multitudes of young and old, conservatives and radicals, the highly cultivated and those in whom a quick sensibility to what is high and pure supplied the place of culture. In hearing him, a serene and cheerful faith and hope seemed to them to flow over the world and over human life like a brighter atmosphere. And this it was which the young could feel and understand; so that when, if we may be allowed to repeat once more a jest which has been told over and over again to weariness, a man of distinction for learning and ability declared that he could not understand Mr. Emerson but his daughters could, he spoke more truly than he knew.

The term excitement, applied to the feelings of his hearers, seems hardly the proper one. It was rather sometimes like the enlivening effect of the morning breeze, sometimes like the transporting and at the same time tranquilizing effect of high and solemn music, dissolving the hard rigors of life, and infusing sweetness and hope.

The feelings, however, excited by Mr. Emerson's position and words were not all admiration, but some of a quite opposite character. It is amusing and instructive (when we consider the position he now holds, and how almost universally he is the object of such loving and reverent regard, distinguished and admired in the literature and thought of both hemispheres) to recall the way in which he was once regarded and spoken of by a large number of those considered to be the dispensers of correct opinion and taste, and equally so to read the current criticism of his earlier productions.[1]

[1] The following remarks from an article in the *Christian Examiner*, May 1841, by a scholar of distinguished reputation and position, may be taken as a specimen of the way in which

Many who disliked the general tone of what he said contented themselves with ridicule, for which some peculiarities of his style seemed to offer opportunity; others laughed at what they deemed his fanciful and unsound notions, and at the craze of the young people concerning him. Among these, some who knew and esteemed him personally smiled good-naturedly at what seemed novelties or oddities, and at the infatuation of their children; but others took it more seriously. Wise and good men who had labored with earnestness and fidelity in the belief of certain opinions and religious doctrines, the foundations of which seemed assailed or threatened by the freedom with which Mr. Emerson spoke, were pained and offended, especially by his address before the students of the Cambridge Theological School, in July, 1838, in which he spoke of beliefs devoutly cherished by many, not irreverently indeed, but with a freedom which was to them a grief and an offence. Some of his hearers of the conservative class, attracted by the charm of his lectures, tolerated as they might the freedom with which he touched on the exciting and controverted questions of the day in consideration of their enjoyment in listening to him, though at times disturbed or offended when he came too near matters connected with fierce debate and controversy.[1]

Although Mr. Emerson cannot be said to belong to any school or system of philosophy as such, yet the character and tendency of his thought

Emerson's writings, both as to style and thought, were regarded at the time: "Mr. Emerson is an extravagant and erratic genius, setting all authority at defiance, sometimes writing with the pen of an angel, and sometimes gravely propounding the most amazing nonsense. . . . He has expressed such sovereign contempt for consistency, that we must not look for that virtue in what he may choose to say; if we do, we shall look in vain. In its place we shall often encounter point blank contradictions. . . . His writings are thickly studded with oddities gathered from the most unfrequented paths of English literature; and when we add to this the supersublimated transcendentalism of the New Platonic style which he now and then affects, we must not wonder if Mr. Emerson's phraseology frequently passes the comprehension of the vulgar. Moreover, he plays certain tricks with words which disfigure his pages not a little." Of his Essays the same writer says: "The Essay under the affected title of the 'Oversoul' is the most objectionable of all of them, both as regards sentiment and style. . . . From the praises which the author's genius would otherwise deserve, large deductions must be made on the score of whim, oddity, and affectation." These things read curiously to us who have lived to know the estimation in which Mr. Emerson and his works are now held.

[1] A striking instance of this occurred in the inspiring and profoundly touching lecture on Heroism, so full of deepest eloquence. The audience had been carried on and lifted up by its calm and solemn tone to the passage beginning, "Times of heroism are generally times of terror; but the day never shines in which this element may not work." Going on, he says: "More freedom [*i. e.* at this time] exists for culture. It will not now run against an axe at the first step out of the beaten track of opinion. But whoso is heroic will always find crises to try his edge. Human virtue demands her champions and martyrs, and the trial of persecution always proceeds. It is but the other day that the brave Lovejoy gave his breast to the bullets of a mob, for the right of free speech and opinion, and died when it was better not to live." We remember how some of his friends and sympathizers felt the sort of cold shudder which ran through the audience at this calm braving of the current opinion. "He died as the fool dieth" had been the popular dictum about Lovejoy and his death; and this solemn exalting him as a hero and martyr seemed almost an insult to the admiring crowd, who were wholly unprepared for this unexpected turn and shock to their feelings and notions. We have heard some of those who had for him a special regard and sympathy describe their terror, almost, at what they felt was so obnoxious to his audience. Mr. Emerson also delivered addresses, by invitation, before the literary societies of Dartmouth and Waterville colleges.

place him most decidedly with the Idealist, Intuitive, or Transcendental School,[1] of which in popular estimation he stood for the representative and type.

The connection of Dr. Hedge with the Transcendental movement was close and important. His education in Germany, where he had passed some years in the earlier part of his life, had given him, besides a familiarity with the language of that country, an interest in its literature, and developed the taste which has led to his wide and intimate acquaintance with the German philosophy and sympathy with its spirit and ideas. This tendency showed itself while he was a student in the theological school at Cambridge, and then and afterward inspired many of his friends with something of his own interest and enthusiasm. In an article on Coleridge,[2] he took occasion to give some account of the leading metaphysicians of Germany — Kant, Fichte, Schelling — and of their systems of philosophy; and thus placed before the public a distinct exposition and defence of the Transcendental philosophy, which may be regarded as an important point in the history of that phase of thought in this vicinity. Speaking of the Transcendental philosophy, he characterizes it as "an attempt to penetrate into the most hidden mysteries of our being." To the opponents of this philosophy this attempt seemed both futile and a fruitful source of obscurities and absurdities. In illustration of this view they liked to instance the seemingly unintelligible, or what they chose to consider ridiculous, utterances of those who had a taste for the speculations of that school, or were ranked among its adherents.

In 1851 Dr. Hedge delivered the Dudleian lecture at Harvard College. His subject was "Natural Religion."[3] In this he takes the ground that all religious truth is properly revealed; that this belongs to a higher power than the unassisted human understanding; and that it has received its original light from revelation. The most striking part of this discourse, and what particularly characterizes it, is his criticism of the common argument for the existence of God from instances of design in the universe. He maintains that design is no adequate proof, and indeed is worthless as a proof by which to establish this truth, since in all such reasoning or proof we carry with us an idea of God already existing in our own minds and in no way dependent on the instances of design. He says: —

"The argument from design has its origin in a law of the mind which demands intelligence as the co-ordinate of being. Whatever conviction it produces is due to that law. Besides, though we grant the argument from design the uttermost that can be claimed for it, what does it give us after all, but the wonderful mechanician, the unfathomable artist? What religion wants and declares is a Father in Heaven, a moral Governor, Ruler, and Judge of the rational world. Of this God the natural

[1] [See a chapter on "Emerson the Seer" in Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*; and the chapter on "Transcendentalism" in Dr. Bartol's *Radical Problems*. — Ed.]

[2] *Christian Examiner*, March, 1833.

[3] The substance of this discourse may be found in an article in the *Christian Examiner*, vol. xvii. 1852, entitled "Natural Religion."

proofs are our own consciousness, our moral instincts, and the universal consent of mankind."

Earlier than this, Dr. Hedge had taken some part in the discussion of phrenology, which excited a lively but rather short-lived interest in this community on the occasion of a visit of Dr. Spurzheim, one of its founders and chief advocates. This system excited a good deal of interest, and had a certain popularity, as it seemed to offer a cheap and easy philosophy of the mental and moral faculties (a subject of so much interest), and to put the matter almost literally, so to speak, into the hands of all. Its claims and pretensions were attacked by Dr. Hedge [1] in a tone more sarcastic and less respectful than was his wont in dealing with what was opposed to his views, as its pretensions seemed to him unfounded, and its methods as well as doctrines unphilosophical. He points out the materialistic character of the system, as well as its insufficiency as an account of the mental and moral phenomena of our constitution.

Already, in November, 1833, there had appeared in the *Examiner* Dr. Hedge's paper on Swedenborg, which is on the whole a favorable view of him and of his place in the philosophy of religion; and it treats his claims with respect and impartiality. A strong interest in the religious doctrines and writings of the Swedish theosopher characterized many other thoughtful persons, and those who consciously or unconsciously were in sympathy with the spiritual philosophy. In Mr. Emerson's *Representative Men* we find Swedenborg taken as the type of the Mystic, and a very high place assigned to him among the seers, teachers, and prophets of the world. The writings of Sampson Reed, too, an able and devoted follower of Swedenborg, were inspired and pervaded by his teachings. The writings of Swedenborg were also read and admired by many serious and thoughtful persons who did not accept him in the same sense with Mr. Reed, as an inspired teacher, but who found the truths of divine and human knowledge illustrated by the remarkable insight and profound thought of the Swedish seer. Thus his teachings have had a much wider influence, and have been much more deeply felt, than is represented by the number of the professed receivers of his doctrine.[2]

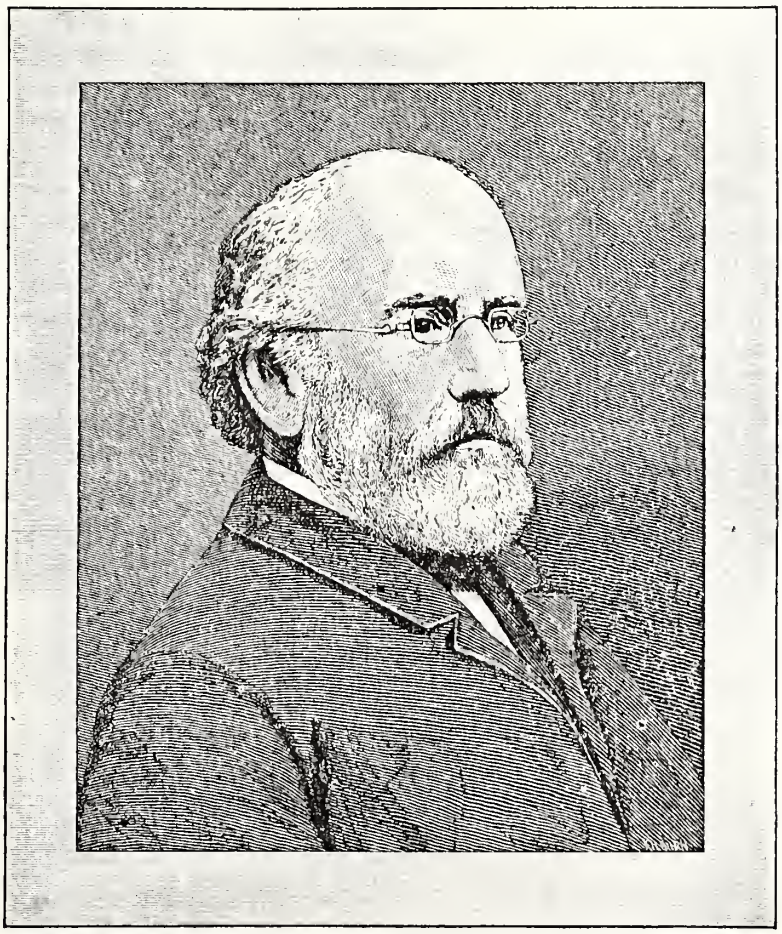
Mr. Henry James, too, has devoted much time and subtile thought, in various writings, to illustrate and explain in numerous relations the truths found in the works of Swedenborg, for whose mind and teachings he has shown profound reverence and admiration.

The part and position of George Ripley in the Transcendental movement was an important and prominent one in various ways. His early life was passed at Greenfield, Mass., where he was brought up in the faith and influence of the Orthodox Congregational Church. After the years spent at the University and the Divinity School at Cambridge, he was settled in

[1] *Christian Examiner*, 1834.

[2] [See the chapter on the "The New Jerusalem Church in Boston" in Vol. III., by a son of Sampson Reed. — Ed.]

1828 as a clergyman over a Unitarian society in Boston, where he continued as minister for several years. He had an ardent love of knowledge and remarkable power of rapid acquisition; and as his taste led him in the direction of theological and metaphysical studies, he became an acute and accomplished scholar in these departments. His ardent spirit was ever ac-



GEORGE RIPLEY.[1]

tive, and his industry untiring. While connected with the religious society he undertook an important literary enterprise, — the publication of a work called *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, which was continued for some time, and embraced several valuable works. In this series the *Philosophical Miscellanies* of Cousin, Constant, and Jouffroy were translated by

[1] [This cut follows a photograph of a crayon kindly furnished by Mr. Ripley's widow. See a chapter on "George Ripley, the Man of Letters," in Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*. — Ed.]

Mr. Ripley himself; some of the other volumes, by Mr. John S. Dwight, Miss Margaret Fuller, Mr. W. H. Channing, and Dr. S. Osgood. The first volumes appeared in 1838, the last in 1842. Most of these works were imbued with the new and fresh thought of the time, and in their general tendency were opposed to the philosophy of experience, as represented by the Locke school. The wide researches of Mr. Ripley led him to acquaintance with the German philosophy and theology which then occupied so important a place in the intellectual world, and he became warmly interested in many of the writers of Germany,—in Kant and Herder, and more particularly in Schleiermacher, whom he much admired, and whose statement of religion he found very satisfactory.

Mr. Ripley was always a busy writer, and while minister of the society in Boston he contributed a number of articles to the *Christian Examiner*, which for a long time was a leading journal of the Unitarian denomination, and embraced in its pages a wide range of discussion on philosophy, morals, and religion. A paper by him on Sir James Mackintosh's work on the moral sentiment goes into a lucid and able discussion of the relation of virtue to utility, and advocates the Intuitive in opposition to the Utilitarian theory of morals and of the ground and origin of moral obligation. This placed him, on the question of morals, as his other writings do on those of religion and philosophy, decidedly in the ranks of the Spiritual or Transcendental school.

An important occasion in Mr. Ripley's literary life, and one which added a good deal to his reputation in the theological world, was his controversy with Professor Andrews Norton, of the Cambridge Theological School.[1]

[1] Mr. Norton, in an address before the alumni of the Theological School on what he called the "Latest Form of Infidelity," took occasion to attack what seemed to him the novel and dangerous views of the evidences of Christianity, which, while they either denied or undervalued the proof from miracles, laid the chief stress on the general character of the teachings of Christ and their adaptation to the moral wants and natural religious instincts of mankind. Professor Norton regarded this rejection or undervaluing of the historical miracles as dangerous to the foundation of Christianity. He, indeed, deemed the denial of the miracles as equivalent to a denial of the divine origin of Christianity, and as nothing more nor less than infidelity, to which he gave the title of "Latest Form," in contradistinction to the Deism of the last century of Collins, Toland, etc. As less open and declared it seemed to him only the more insidious and pernicious. Mr. Ripley girded himself to reply with a sort of joyous confidence, like the rejoicing of a strong man to run a race. From his knowledge and appreciation of the views attacked, and from his confidence in their truth and strength, as well as from his acquaintance with the recent theology and philosophy of Germany he was extremely well qualified for the occasion. The controversy turned mainly on the value and importance of miracles as ground and proof of the Christian religion.

Mr. Norton maintained their absolute indispensableness, and affirmed that a denial or disbelief of them was equivalent to a rejection of any proper belief in religion as a divine revelation. "Christianity," he says, "claims to reveal facts, a knowledge of which is essential to the moral regeneration of men, and to offer in attestation of these facts the only satisfactory proof, — the authority of God evidenced by miraculous displays of his power." Referring to Mr. Ripley's views he adds: "The latest form of infidelity is distinguished by assuming the Christian name while it strikes at the root of faith in Christianity, and indirectly at all religion, by denying the miracles attesting the divine mission of Christ." In the course of his discourse he attacked German theology and philosophy; and first Spinoza, who, though not a German, he says, "is regarded as a profound teacher and patriarch by some of the most noted among the infidel philosophers and theologians of Ger-

Its chief interest consists in our having in conflict before us representatives of the two different schools of philosophy, — Professor Norton representing that of experience and the senses, in the last resort, as the only source of our knowledge; Mr. Ripley, that which we have called the Intuitional, which regards the mind itself, with its intuitions and cognitions, as an independent source of knowledge and belief, — which latter, claiming in the past the names of Plato, Descartes, Cudworth, Malebranche, and Berkeley, was destined to exert so wide an influence among us from the works of Coleridge, Carlyle, Emerson, Hedge, Alcott, Marsh, and others. Though the controversy seems mainly theological and personal, the roots of the positions of the antagonists strike down into the two divergent systems of philosophy, and the theological ground rests on the philosophical.[1]

We pass now to speak of Mr. Ripley's connection with the famous socialistic experiment conducted by the Brook Farm Phalanx. This enterprise was the object of much misapprehension, of a good deal of ridicule and even bitter hostility. It was natural enough that an institution so novel in its arrangements and its claims, so opposed to conservative notions and feelings, should encounter prejudice, misapprehension, and ridicule; neither is it strange that many mistakes, and ludicrous ones, should have been made. Embracing in its numbers such heterogeneous materials, and naturally attracting persons of fantastic notions, with various peculiarities and singularities of character, it was to be expected that some would have vagaries, and some affect singular ways. So the public very

many," and afterward gave an account, in a very unfavorable spirit, of some distinguished recent theologians.

Mr. Ripley in reply controverted Mr. Norton's position that miracles are the *only* proof of Christianity. After quoting his words, "that the divine authority of him whom God commissioned to speak to us in his name was attested in the *only* mode in which it could be, by miraculous displays of his power," and other statements to the same effect, he went on to examine this doctrine, and made many citations to show that Mr. Norton's doctrine, though not absolutely novel, was contrary to the opinion and statements of many of the most distinguished divines and theologians of Europe and America; that it was contrary to the teachings of the Old and New Testaments; and he showed that other proofs, called internal evidence, have ever been admitted to have a force and power that are disparaged by Mr. Norton's claim for miracles as the *essential* and *only* satisfactory proof of divine origin. (It should be said, at the same time, that Mr. Norton did not deny to this internal evidence a high comparative value and use.) To the charges made against some distinguished modern German theologians, and to the severe terms in which Professor Norton had spoken of them as Pantheists and Infidels, Mr. Ripley replied with an elaborate statement of their belief and philosophy, which he substantiated by quotations from their works. He also criticised the translation of passages from them made by Mr. Norton, and charged such versions with incorrectness. To this Mr. Norton replied in a pamphlet criticising and controverting Mr. Ripley's arguments, while he reiterated his own former positions and assertions, and adduced citations in confirmation of them. To this Mr. Ripley replied in a second letter, in which he gives an account of the system and doctrines of Spinoza, to refute the common notion of his Atheism, Pantheism, etc., and defends some of his own former assertions and translations. This was followed by a third letter by Mr. Ripley, which is specially occupied with a defence of Schleiermacher and De Wette; and this concluded the controversy.

[1] In this controversy we believe that it was the general opinion among those who took an interest in the subject, that Mr. Ripley acquitted himself with great credit, both as respects the learning and ability displayed, and the good temper and courtesy shown to his adversary, for whom, as appears from the discriminating notice in the early part of this chapter, he ever retained a high respect.

legitimately had its laugh. But perhaps it was hardly fair, though natural enough, to fix on these oddities and absurdities as the salient and chief characteristics of the enterprise in which many sensible, thoughtful, worthy, and benevolent persons set themselves seriously to work to carry out an experiment which had attractions for themselves, and which they fondly and generously, if not wisely, hoped would lead to important benefit for mankind. To overlook their humane and generous aims and objects, and what were in many respects their wise, skilful, and efficient arrangements, — to ignore, too, what was really accomplished, and to fix attention only on the mistakes and ludicrous aspects of the enterprise, — was not quite just, nor was it a true view of the matter. The mistakes were necessarily the more obvious features to those outside; often made known, too, from the unfriendly gossip of some who became dissatisfied. The better accomplishments could not be so well known without interior acquaintance, or at least sympathy, with the movement. It is, of course, not possible to form any proper estimate of the influence of this experiment, or of what was really accomplished by it. It certainly taught some lessons about associated life, though it may not have demonstrated either its feasibility or the contrary; but that it had various and important influences in the spirit and direction of the ideas with which it was started, we think many who were there will testify. Some of these look back on it as a very profitable as well as delightful part of their lives, and no doubt owe to it — beside valuable practical experience — higher and more generous aims, a free and varied culture, wider sympathies, and more humane views of the relations of society.

The influence on the young, we may perhaps say, was especially valuable; affording them as it did a wide opportunity for out-of-door life, with its broadening and emancipating effects, combined with instruction from many different teachers of diversified character, and bringing them into daily intimacy with persons of various culture and experience, and with principles of humanity and brotherhood as the basis of daily life. And may we not believe that with all the shortcomings and unfaithfulness to its ideal, with the collisions and heartburnings almost inseparable from associations of human beings in any enterprise, a large spirit of humanity was developed and prevailed, and that this brief and imperfect experiment had an important influence in enlarging, emphasizing, defining, and deepening the spirit of true democracy?

It would seem that Mr. Ripley was not satisfied with the efficacy of the church modes of administering Christianity, in promoting its objects and combating the evils of the present social arrangements, and was led to hope for more effective benefit to the cause of humanity and for the protection of human brotherhood, from some organization of labor on the principle of co-operation instead of competition, and with agricultural labor as the basis. Questions relating to this matter were discussed between him and some of the leading philanthropists of the day; and these, Dr. Channing among them, took an interest in his ideas, though probably none of them had the

same sanguine hopes. Thus the plan of doing something toward a reform of social organization, by some form of association, gradually took shape in his mind. The subject of Life in Community, or Association, as a remedy for the evils of the present form of social life, seems to have been in the air at the time. The Mendon Association of Adin Ballou and his associates, and perhaps other similar experiments, were in agitation or actually begun. But whatever aid and incitement Mr. Ripley may have owed to the sympathy and thought of others, we may assert that this enterprise derived its origin from his philanthropic idealism, and that to him belongs the credit of having given form to the scheme as actually carried out, and of having devised and fixed upon the ways and means of its inception and realization.[1]

This movement, in the mind of Mr. Ripley and others, was one form of the strong and rising feeling of humanity and of the brotherhood of man, then so widely pervading the community. With it, too, came the desire and hope for better conditions of life, in which the less fortunate classes might come to share in the privileges, comforts, and various advantages belonging to civilized society.

The feeling which at this time manifested itself in an excited form in the Antislavery agitation may indirectly have had some effect in suggesting or stimulating this movement. Mr. Ripley, and others with him, while sympathizing with the object of the Abolitionists, thought that as the evils of which slavery is so signal and conspicuous a form lay deep in the present constitution and arrangement of society, so their remedy could only be found in a modification or radical change of ordinary life. The feeling, then, which lay at the bottom of the Brook Farm enterprise, and from which it mainly sprang, we may say, from acquaintance with many of its chief actors and friends, was dissatisfaction with the existing conditions of society, — that, under these, some classes enjoy the advantages of high culture and the gratification of the intellect and taste, and if obliged to work in some way for subsistence they yet have leisure and opportunity for refined recreation and for the enjoyment of comfortable or elegant modes of living, and are in some respects subject to more favorable moral influences; while under these, also, other classes are doomed to wearisome or painful drudgery and incessant toil, without opportunity for the enjoyments of intellect and taste, confined to dreary and squalid conditions of existence, and more exposed to temptations at least to the more flagrant crimes. Then, again, there was the feeling that there is something wrong in the mode of industry as now constituted, — namely, competitive industry; a point so much insisted on by Fourier and other advocates of association, in which one man's gain is

[1] The question here naturally occurs, how much Mr. Ripley owed to the theories and writing of Charles Fourier, who had written so largely on the subject of associated life and industry. So far as we learn, it would seem he was acquainted with Fourier's theories through the writings of Albert Brisbane, one of his zealous disciples and expounders in this country, but not with the works of Fourier himself till sometime later, and after being settled at Brook Farm. At any rate he did not at first adopt in their full extent the ideas or system of Fourier, his own notions on the subject being far less systematic and *doctrinaire*, so to speak.

another man's loss, and the necessities of which make it the interest of each to get away from others, and to appropriate to himself as large a share as possible of this world's goods, — a condition of things seemingly so contrary to the spirit of Christian brotherhood. Consequently a mode of life was desired, and even anticipated with more or less confidence by different persons, according to character or mental bias, in which this evil condition of the relations of society might be corrected.

The views and feelings we have thus attempted to indicate, and which so readily suggest themselves to the thoughtful and humane, seem to have lain at the bottom of the movement, and most of those attracted to it shared more or less in them; but, besides these, there were various other considerations inciting to an interest in the enterprise and a wish to take part in it. The idea of a pleasant social life, with congenial society, somewhat free from burdensome conventions, moved some. Then there was the idea of a life of mingled physical and intellectual labor, as more proper and healthful, combined with the notion that exclusive occupation in one or the other is unfavorable to mental and bodily health, and that the alternation of the two, as it is the duty and benefit of all, is also the right and privilege of all. Other considerations were those of the economies of a united household of several families, — economies of fuel and labor, and of the apparatus for cooking, washing, agricultural uses, etc. Among those drawn to it there were some, who, willing to work, were yet indisposed to the struggle for existence in civilized society, or who in the struggle had been unsuccessful. Young women, too, who had found no sphere suited to their taste, culture, or capabilities, hailed the opportunity of a home and a support, in return for work they were willing and glad to give, in conditions of society agreeable to their tastes and character. Some were mainly attracted by the agricultural feature, to whom the cultivation of the soil, as the most primitive and natural, seemed also the most innocent and agreeable, form of industry, and Mr. Ripley himself took much interest in this aspect.

These various considerations and feelings were mingled in different proportions in the different individuals, and had their influence; and they were perhaps more or less shared as motives by all who came with thought and reflection to the enterprise. If it may seem that most of the thoughts and feelings adopted and proclaimed with so much enthusiasm and emphasis are quite commonplace, indeed mere platitudes, it should be considered that since then the mind of society has made progress in democratic ideas; and may we not believe that this, too, is due in some degree to the zeal with which they were adopted and proclaimed at that time? It should be considered, too, that this was an attempt to give substantial form and embodiment to these thoughts and feelings. Mr. Ripley, who was of a sanguine temperament, with remarkable power of quick perception and rapid apprehension, when this matter of associative industry as a remedy for the ills of society was brought to his mind, was seized with the idea of some form of community, some mode of life in association and of co-operative industry,

which might secure better conditions for humanity. Finding a number of persons disposed to sympathize, either practically or theoretically, with his views and hopes, he went forward with an ardor very inspiring to those who came in contact with him. He threw himself with enthusiastic and disinterested zeal into his plans and schemes, worked long and generously, amid many discouragements, with unselfish and never-failing devotion for their accomplishment and success. While under these influences the opportunity of securing a farm which seemed to offer various advantages for trying his experiment induced him to take it. This property was situated in West Roxbury, now a part of Boston, and touched on the towns of Dedham and Newton. It consisted of about two hundred acres, part of it rocky and not very fertile land; part an extensive meadow, reaching to and bordering on Charles River, which was mainly its Dedham boundary. There was on the farm a pleasant old family mansion, on rising ground or sort of knoll, along which, and winding through the meadow till it reached the river, was a lively brook, whence the farm had its name, and which to the younger people was a source of amusement and pleasure, as they wandered along its banks or trapped the wild game of its neighborhood. The nearness of the farm to the city was an advantage in several ways, as for instance affording a market for its products. It was, too, an attraction to some not yet entirely emancipated from the benefits and charms of that civilization which, theoretically, seemed so full of evils; for it should be considered that of those who were early members of the family there were quite a number who had enjoyed many of the advantages and luxuries of civilization and high culture. There was the hope, however, that in time it would not be necessary to go so far to seek those delights of music, art, etc., which on the true theory of life in association were to find place and cultivation among themselves.

A small company, — the pioneers in the work, — first planted themselves on the ground early in April, 1841. Among those who thus began the work were Mr. and Mrs. Ripley, and Miss Marianne Ripley, his sister, who had had a school for young children in Boston, some of whom she brought with her. She made a separate family with them in a small house near the farm; and, in the rather fanciful nomenclature adopted, this was called the Nest, as the principal house was named the Hive.[1]

Mrs. Ripley, who was of an energetic and enthusiastic temperament, entered very heartily into the views and plans of her husband, and was always a prominent person in the conduct of affairs. She threw herself with zeal and efficiency into the various departments in which she could

[1] Mr. Warren Burton, who had been a clergyman, and an author of some small books, accompanied them. He however did not remain long. Hawthorne also came at the beginning, or very early. There were a few who had had some experience in farming, and whose knowledge and skill were highly esteemed in the general lack of this accomplishment. Mr. William Allen, a young farmer from Vermont, had in some way become *interested in the idea*. This was one of the pet phrases. He afterward married, and brought his wife, and continued some time at the farm. Mr. Frank Farley, who is still living, had had also some experience in farming at the West. Several young women were also there, of marked character and intelligence.

take part; especially that of teaching, for which she was so well qualified by her knowledge and previous experience.[1] Besides the principal persons and workers, there were a number of young persons who were here mainly for education, but who sometimes took part in the farm and other work, not always in the most efficient way. There were in the community first and last a large number of such young persons, as many of the principal members were well qualified to give instruction by previous experience, or by their knowledge in different departments. There were also, much of the time, a number of boarders, attracted by the agreeable society, by the pleasant situation, or by sympathy with the idea and mode of life. This appendage of the school and boarders, though not strictly in accordance with the idea of the community life, was taken advantage of to furnish the necessary means for the first starting of the experiment and carrying it on in its early stages, toward which the proceeds of the farm would not have gone far.

And we may here say something of the ways and means of meeting the expenses, and providing for the wants of the company. The food was furnished either from the products of the farm, or was purchased. The necessary funds came from the sale of the farm products, or from other sources indicated above. The clothing of those properly to be reckoned members was also provided for in a similar way, and set off against services of one kind or another. This for the most part could be afforded at a somewhat reduced rate, the material being purchased in quantity, and made up among themselves by those who brought the requisite skill and practice with them, — for in this microcosm a considerable variety of occupations and industries was represented. The school was an important source of income; and this was continued till the end, or nearly so, of the existence of the association. Some of the pupils took part in the work, and thus defrayed a portion of the expense of board, etc. There were always a large number of young persons, scholars, boarders, etc., and this led to a considerable mingling of amusement of various kinds. Moreover, some of the company had a special skill in arranging and directing this element. We may in this connection remark that a prominent feature of the life was the opportunity given for the exercise of divers gifts and faculties; and the way in which

[1] She has recently been very favorably and justly noticed in some articles on Brook Farm in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by Miss Amelia Russell, since deceased, who was herself a long time a member of the association, and was a zealous, active, and valuable co-worker. There were also some young women who were there partly for education, or drawn there by some other consideration. Later than this, but in the course of the first summer, came Charles A. Dana, now editor of the *New York Sun*. With the ardor of youth, and bringing fresh from Harvard, where he had been a student, the latest improvements in scholarly lore, he embraced the ideas and modes of operation of the enterprise with zeal and systematic energy, and long filled an important place as teacher, worker, counsellor, and director. In the course of the first summer, too, came Minot Pratt, with his family. He had been a printer, but was attracted by sympathy and interest in the mode of life, as well as by a taste for agriculture, which he retained until his death, a few years since. He was a man of singular purity and uprightness of character, simplicity of taste, and great intelligence. He was in many ways a valuable member, and for a long time had the chief direction of the farming operations.

they may be easily and naturally brought into play is one of the claims of the theory of association. There were amusements suited to the different seasons, — tableaux, charades, dances; in the winter, skating and coasting, for which the knolls, wide meadows, and river afforded favorable opportunities; in summer, rural fêtes, masquerades, etc., in the charming localities, rocks, and woods around the place.

A great charm of the life was the free and natural intercourse for which it gave opportunity, and the working of the elective affinities, which here had more full play; so that while a kindly feeling was the general spirit of the family, little groups of friends, drawn together in closer relations by taste and sympathy, soon declared themselves. By most who were there the life was felt to be very charming. The relief from the fetters and burdensome conventions of society, from the

> "greetings where no kindness is, and all
> The dreary intercourse of daily life,"

was a constant delight to those who had suffered from them in the artificial arrangements and forms of society. At the same time the relief and pleasures of solitude were not wanting, as the taste that might lead any to withdraw to the solitude of the woods or of their own rooms was respected. There was for a long time a large infusion of romantic feeling and enthusiasm, especially among the younger and more inexperienced, who knew nothing of the embarrassment of providing ways and means. Nor was this enthusiasm confined to these. There was something of the "tête montée" pervading to a great extent the company, and of the feeling expressed in the verse of Virgil, —

> "Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

And if in some instances there was a slight falsetto tone, at the same time there was a great deal of genuine faith in the idea; and a conviction obtained that such a life was in many respects a truer and better as well as a happier one than that of the unfortunates who, according to the current phraseology, were still in *civilization*, — which was a word of somewhat sinister import in the Brook Farm community. Among the less wise and thoughtful there was indeed carried to a silly exaggeration a pity for the *civilisés*. Notwithstanding all this, justice should be done to the feeling of the more wise and thoughtful in entering upon and going through the enterprise. This, we think, those well acquainted with them would bear witness was for the most part simple; and, though colored with an enthusiasm which seemed exaggerated to many, was without that special consciousness and pretension with which they were charged.

The agricultural feature was always a very important one, and of great interest to many of the company, to whom its various aspects and phases were a novelty. Hawthorne, who was there during most of the first summer, and also part of the following winter, was an efficient and stalwart worker in this department, and found amusement in his apprenticeship to some parts

of the farm work, — as milking, etc., and especially, for a long time, in the pleasant operations of hay-making, which was an important part in consequence of the extensive meadows. He was attracted thither, as we understood, by the hope of an opportunity of leading a life more in conformity with his tastes and feelings than was possible in the common arrangements of society, and also of uniting successfully manual with intellectual work. But we think he was disappointed in this, and found it not easy to combine writing with severe bodily toil; and as the former was so manifestly his vocation, he gave up the farm work in the course of the first summer, and though he remained there for some time longer, it was as a boarder, not a worker. The younger people had, as usual, their admirations and worships; and Hawthorne was eminently fitted to be one of these, partly by the prestige of his reputation, but more in consequence of a real appreciation of his genius as a writer, as well as from the impression made by his remarkable and fine personal appearance and by his whole bearing. He was shy in his ways; and though he mingled with the rest of the company in the evening gatherings in the hall or parlor of the Hive, he was silent and apparently self-absorbed, but no doubt carefully observing as was his wont, and finding material for his writing.[1] There was something about him, however, that attracted, notwithstanding this reserve.

In process of time new arrangements were found necessary to accommodate the increasing numbers. The original mansion-house, the Hive, was enlarged by successive additions; and then, with the further increase of numbers, the Eyrie, and afterward the Cottage and the Pilgrim House, were added. Later, some workshops for the exercise of several new branches of industry were erected, — among these, shoemaking, though never on a large scale; the manufacture of Britannia ware, lamps, teapots, etc.; carpenters' rules; carpentry; sash and blind making. The most profitable work, we are informed, was that of the farm, and branches connected with it, — like the nursery, and the business of the trees and greenhouse.

As to compensation, the principle was to apportion it in general to the number of hours, and also to the difficulty and disagreeableness of the kind of work. This was received in the form of board, clothing, and dividends on labor. Compensation was also allowed for extra work.

At the beginning the arrangements were quite simple, and the organization slight; but the tendency was constantly to a more scientific form, according to the principles of Fourier, especially after the scheme had attracted some of his professed disciples and students. It was the aim and hope to have it eventually organized and conducted wholly on that system; though (perhaps from want of sufficient numbers) this was never thoroughly

[1] In his *Blithedale Romance*, which was the fruit of his experience here, in order to deepen the shadows of his picture he avails himself of a most painful and tragic incident, which did not occur here, but elsewhere. Some of the Brook Farmers were sorry to have anything so ghastly connected with what for them had, for the most part, pleasant and beautiful associations.

carried out.[1] The last building, the Phalanstery, was arranged in some measure in conformity with these principles. It was on a large scale, and had many suites of apartments for different families, but was destroyed by fire before completion. The institution thus suffered a loss from which it never recovered, and finally came to an end in the fall of 1847, about

[1] There had been at earlier stages some statements of the plan, but the final formulating of their intents appears in a constitution dated May 1, 1845, in the introduction to which are these words, which show a more sanguine confidence, after about four years' actual experience, and more hope of realizing their expectations, than is commonly supposed to have existed: "We have laid the foundation, and now stand ready to rear the superstructure, which will approach more nearly the ideal of human society than any that has ever existed, — a society which will establish justice between all interests and all men; which will guarantee education, right to labor, and the rights of property to all; and which, by actual demonstration of a state of things every way better and more advantageous, will put an end to the great evils which at present burden even the most fortunate classes. What we have already been able to accomplish ought to give weight to our words. We speak not from abstract conviction, but from experience; as men of practical common-sense, holding in our hands the means of escape from the present conditions of society, and from that more frightful state to which in all countries it is hurrying."

The preamble reads thus: "In order more effectually to promote the great purposes of human culture, . . . to substitute a system of brotherly love for one of selfish competition, . . . to guarantee to each other forever the means of physical support and spiritual progress, etc., we unite, etc."

Its principles may be thus summarized: "*The Government.* — It shall be vested in a General Council which shall consist of four branches, viz.: first, a Council of Industry; second, a Council of Finance; third, a Council of Science; fourth, a President, who together with a chairman of each of the foregoing councils shall constitute a General Council. *Organization of Labor.* — The labor of the Phalanx shall be arranged in Groups and Series, as far as practicable, according to the system of Charles Fourier. *Groups.* — A group is a little company of from three to twenty persons, engaged in some special division of labor or study. In this sphere it governs and is responsible; it makes its rules, and decides upon the management of its own operations. In it the highest talent of its members for its particular duty is called out. *Series.* — The different groups, engaged in divisions of the same employment, are united into a higher combination called a Series, which, through its proper officers, governs and is responsible in that department. These again are concentrated in the Councils of Industry and Science, which have a like power and responsibility.* *Division of Profits.* — The striking features of this, and which are especially in contrast with the usual arrangements of civilized society, are, first, that the net profits after all general expenses are paid are to be divided, one third to Capital and two thirds to Labor; second, that the two thirds allotted to Labor shall be distributed so that the labor of the Class of Necessity shall receive the highest dividend, labor of the class of Usefulness a medium dividend, and labor of the Class of Attractiveness the lowest dividend, — *i.e.*, that the necessary and important, which at the same time may be the most disagreeable and repulsive, shall receive the highest dividend. *The General Council.* — This shall classify all Labor, according to its necessity, its usefulness, or its attractiveness, and with reference to the promotion of Social Harmony; and this classification may be varied from time to time, so as to prevent an excess of laborers in any branch of industry, and secure the performance of the labor required."

A distinction should not be overlooked between the earlier and later periods of this experiment. The first was one of much generous enthusiasm, with somewhat vague feelings of humanity, and of hope for better and more humane conditions of life; and this was combined with the undefined and unsystematic way in which it was attempted to carry out the ideas that prompted the movement. The later was a more mature period, when the more scientific and systematic forms of organization were gradually approximated and introduced. The first phase was more agreeable to some of the zealous first-comers.

* We would remark, for the information of those unacquainted with the subject, that the groups and series, etc., are important and characteristic features of the system and nomenclature of Fourier. [Octavius B. Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*, Boston, 1876, gives at full length, p. 159, the constitution of the Brook Farm community. The literature of the subject is somewhat scattered. See the paper on their "Home-Life" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1878; also the number for May, 1866, p. 565. Other estimates and glimpses can be found in Greeley's *Recollections of a Busy Life*; the various sketches of Hawthorne, including M. D. Conway's introduction to the English edition of Hawthorne's *Note-books*, and in general the reviews of *The Blithedale Romance*; Dixon's *New America*; Noyes's *American Socialisms*. — Ed.]

six years after it began. Pecuniary difficulties in conducting it, we presume, may be stated as the main cause of its failure and of the necessity for its abandonment.

Most of the time there were no religious observances by the association as such,[1] as many of the inmates attended Theodore Parker's church, or others in the neighborhood, while some went to Boston. At one time, however, there were religious services conducted by William H. Channing, or other clergymen who may have been present. Also for a considerable period meetings were held in Boston on Sunday; and these, too, were generally conducted by Mr. Channing, and often had reference to the doctrines of association, in which he was much interested.

An important point to be noted in the history of this movement was the publication of a journal called the *Harbinger*, to advocate the principles of association. The first number is dated June 14, 1845. It was continued for several years, and was first printed at Brook Farm, afterward at New York. In the manifesto of the first number we find its object thus stated: "It is proposed to publish a weekly newspaper for the examination and discussion of the great questions in social science, politics, and the arts which command the attention of all believers in the progress and elevation of humanity, . . . and to be devoted to the cause of a radical, organic social reform, as essential to the highest development of man's nature. . . . The principles of universal unity, as taught by Charles Fourier, in their application to society, we believe are at the foundation of all genuine social progress; and it will be our aim to discuss and defend these principles. . . . The social reform, of which the signs are everywhere visible, comprehends all others." This journal, which was conducted with zeal and ability, is important as showing the faith, earnestness, and seriousness of purpose, as well as hopeful confidence, which the advocates of association had in the truth and ultimate success of their principles. Besides the special subject of association, the *Harbinger* embraced a variety of other topics, particularly in relation to matters of art. The musical articles occupy much space, and were mainly written by John S. Dwight; and these were in the sense and spirit of his other writings on the subject, characterized by warm and discriminating zeal in advocating and expounding the highest forms of musical art, and instructing and elevating the public taste. Mr. Dwight was himself, with other members of his family, a long time at Brook Farm, and had direction of the musical department.[2]

From this episode of associated endeavor we turn to trace the influence of the new philosophical thought and tendency in other fields. It was

[1] In the Phalanstery was a hall intended for meetings of the company, and to be used for religious services by those who might so wish.

[2] In the list of writers given in the first number we find the names of Albert Brisbane, W. H. Channing, C. P. Cranch, G. W. Curtis, C. A. Dana, Parke Godwin, Horace Greeley, T. W. Higginson, G. Ripley, J. R. Lowell, F. G. Shaw, William W. Story, and J. G. Whittier. The translations of George Sand's *Consuelo* and *Countess of Rudolstadt*, by F. G. Shaw, were printed first in this journal.

naturally felt in an especial manner in the Divinity School at Cambridge, although among its professors Mr. Norton was decidedly opposed, and others were by no means favorable, to it; but the students, as belonging to a younger generation, and moreover by their studies particularly occupied with questions of philosophy, were more open to its influence. Various circumstances, which brought the philosophy and literature of Germany to their acquaintance, served further to awaken interest. The coming of Dr. Follen as teacher of German, about 1826–27, had already given an impulse to the study of that language, and Dr. Hedge, then a student of the school, helped to spread it among his personal friends. The writings of Carlyle, in so far as they illustrated German literature and its distinguished representatives, also contributed much to stimulate taste and diffuse knowledge in this direction. Dr. Hedge's book of translations, *Prose Writers of Germany*, was another indication of this tendency. It is proper to connect the interest in the language, literature, and philosophy of Germany with the Transcendental tendency, as they were associated together in the popular mind, and looked upon alike with a vague dislike, suspicion, or dread, as closely connected with infidelity, or at best with mysticism, obscurity, absurdity, and nonsense, and tending to pernicious radicalism; so that the word *German* came to carry with it all sorts of ridiculous and extravagant associations,[1] — and to this some color was lent by the specimens from which the popular, but very slight and imperfect, notion had been derived. Such were the translations of Schiller's *Robbers*, a work belonging to a very crude period of his life, and Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther*, which in itself, in some respects rather remote from the New England style of thought and sentiment, had the further disadvantage of being known from a poor and sickly French version, probably still further disfigured by its translation into English.

The books most in vogue at any period, and especially those which are favorites with the active and influential minds whose mission is to give character and direction to the prevalent thought, may be taken as indications of the tendencies of the time; and so we may fitly notice here some of those which were so regarded at that time.

Besides the taste for German literature and philosophy, the writings of Coleridge excited much interest and awakened a taste for profound and abstract thought on literary and philosophical subjects. First, his *Biographia Literaria*, and then, more exclusively philosophical, his *Aids to Reflection*, with the valuable introductory essay by President J. Marsh.[2] This is more particularly addressed to those interested in questions of theology; but as it is written from the ground of the Transcendental philosophy, and pervaded by its spirit, it was not a small element in the influence in that direction. In this work the very important distinction of the *Understanding* and the *Reason* is much emphasized and insisted on; and this is of the very essence of that

[1] The prevailing misapprehension was also aggravated by the unfavorable representations of English Reviews, from which, at that time, many of the popular literary notions were derived.

[2] Published in Burlington, Vt., 1840.

philosophy, and the whole spirit of the work is very strong and decided in opposition to the sensuous system.

The works of Cousin also were favorite books, — the *Introduction to Philosophy*, translated by Professor C. Henry, and the *Comparative View of the Different Philosophical Systems*. His able and lucid criticism of Locke and his system, and of the philosophy of sensation and experience, was read and valued as pointing out the defects and tendencies of that system.

Besides the writings of Carlyle relating to German literature, other works of his awakened still greater interest, and had a still more inspiring influence; among these, several articles in the *Edinburgh Review*,[1] and the *Sartor Resartus*.[2] It is hardly possible for those not contemporary with the first appearance in this country of Carlyle's earlier works to understand or appreciate the extent and vividness of this excitement. It was an era in the thought, experience, and culture of many, provoking in the same person the most opposite feelings, — delight, admiration, sympathy, at the same time dissent, questioning, and opposition; and stimulating thought by the opposition thus aroused. There was also the charm of his style, then a novelty, so rich and strong, so picturesque and poetical, and at times marked by touching strains of tender humanity. We connect the taste for the writings of Carlyle with the history of thought in Boston, since they nowhere else found so early and cordial recognition;[3] and this, we may presume, because their tone was so much in harmony, in some respects, with the growing tendency among us. At the same time, like those of Mr. Emerson, his writings aroused dislike and ridicule, so that with some of his younger admirers the reading of them was a sort of stolen pleasure. It was one of the jests of the day, ridiculing the tastes and enthusiasm of the young people, that in a group of school-girls the talk would be not of balls and beaux, but of Emerson and Carlyle.

Among the interesting features of this period was the Transcendental Club, of which Dr. Hedge, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Alcott, Mr. George Ripley, Theodore Parker, and some others were the founders. It was instituted with the object of bringing together those who agreed in general tendency of philosophical thought, or rather with the broader object of free and untrammelled discussion of questions of high moment then abroad in the community. The meetings of this club, the character and arrangements of which were quite informal, usually took place at the time of the religious anniversaries, or of the Harvard Commencement. They were held at

[1] "Characteristics," "Signs of the Times," "Burns," etc., — the first-named especially.

[2] [This first appeared serially in *Fraser's Magazine*, and was published for the first time in a collected form in Boston, in 1836, at the instance of Dr. Le Baron Russell, and Rev. Wm. Silsbee, with an introduction by R. W. Emerson. — Ed.]

[3] [Carlyle's will, but recently made public says, in connection with a bequest of books which he makes to Harvard University: —

"Having with good reason, ever since my first appearance in literature, a variety of kind feelings, obligations, and regards toward New England, and indeed long before that a hearty good will, real and steady, which still continues, to America at large, and recognizing with gratitude how much of friendliness, of actually credible human love, I have had from that country," etc. Ed.]

various residences of persons interested, — as of Mr. Parker in West Roxbury, Caleb Stetson in Medford, Mr. Emerson at Concord, Dr. Francis at Watertown, or at Mr. Ripley's, Mr. Alcott's, and Dr. Bartol's, in Boston.[1] The talk took a wide range, and was at times of a very inspiring character, relating to topics of religion, philosophy, morals, etc.[2]

There were few who occupied a more prominent position, or one of wider influence in the period of which we write, than Theodore Parker. His independence of mind, his devotion to the cause of freedom and humanity in every aspect, and unshrinking courage in advocating and upholding their claims, and his interest in all knowledge and thought, with his warm, genial, and tender affection, made him a very noteworthy and efficient influence in these causes. His strong feeling against what he deemed errors of doctrine, and his own ardent and uncompromising spirit, led him into the ranks of controversy; and his language toward those whom he considered as faithless or hostile to freedom of thought, or to the relief of humanity from its wrongs and burdens, was harsh and unsparing: but this did no justice to his really kind, tender, and loving nature. His biography has been amply given in various forms; to this paper it belongs to say something of his influence on the thought of his period. This was chiefly in the direction of theology and of moral and social reform. He made it his mission to expose and attack the iniquities and falsehood that, in his view, are embodied in the present constitution of society; to assail the evils that oppress humanity and impede its progress, and more especially to expose and combat the errors that are mingled in the religious notions and institutions of the day, especially those which to him seemed to darken and disfigure our conceptions of the Divine Nature, and, though clothed in the garb of reverence and worship, to deface the pure, free, and beneficent character of Christi-

[1] Besides those already mentioned, Miss Margaret Fuller, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, Mrs. Ripley of Waltham, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, John S. Dwight, and others were sometimes present.

[2] One of these meetings, held in Boston, was rendered memorable by one of the remarkable and impressive outbursts of Father Taylor's eloquence. The subject of discussion was, we think, something relating to the influence of preaching and of the administration of religion, and how they might be rendered more effective. Father Taylor, who was present by invitation, was requested to give his views and experience. He had been sitting silent while the others talked, knitting his brows, with his green spectacles thrown up on his forehead, leaning forward or shifting about on his chair, in the attitudes so familiar to those who remember him. When he began to speak he soon rose to his feet, and warming as he went on, in a sort of indignant or sorrowful eloquence, by-and-by took his hearers off their feet, and they were carried away as by a flood. He rebuked the shortcomings of the various religious sects, not sparing his own, the Methodists; characterizing the faults or peculiarites of each with sarcastic wit, and a sort of grim but fervent satire. The points he made were commonplace enough perhaps, — namely, that all that is needed to move men is simple earnestness and living faith, and that this will conquer coldness and indifference in the hearers; so that what he said was not so remarkable as the pervading, fervent power of his utterance. When he got through, the company were so deeply impressed that they were for the most part disposed to entire silence, and though some desultory attempts were made to renew and continue the discussion, all other speech seemed so cold and hard after the glowing words they had heard, and so out of harmony with their mood, that the company soon broke up. [See *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Rev. Edward T. Taylor*, by G. Haven and T. Russell. Boston, 1872. — Ed.]

anity and its founder. Settled at first over a small parish in West Roxbury, he drew a number of hearers from abroad, many coming out from Boston to listen to his earnest and eloquent speech. What attracted these hearers was not, we think, any very remarkable original intellectual power, but a strong common-sense, entire freedom in exploring and judging of questions of religion, perfect fearlessness in uttering his thoughts, and above all an earnest spirit of humanity and a high moral purpose, united with a profoundly reverent spirit.

His sermon on the "Transient and Permanent in Christianity," at an ordination in South Boston (May 19, 1841), was the occasion of a strong outbreak of feeling against him. The doctrine which was the subject of this discourse was a favorite topic with him, — namely, the distinction on the one hand between the *permanent* and immortal element in Christianity, which is the true religion, suited to all times and all men, and destined to imperishable life, and which was taught by Jesus himself; and, on the other hand, the *transient*, consisting of the opinions of men, the dogmas and forms, the ecclesiastical arrangements, creeds, etc., which embody the notions of men about the absolute and eternal, and are destined to change from age to age. What most caused the commotion in the community and the churches was the freedom with which he spoke of the inspiration of the Scriptures and of the miracles there recorded. Many were shocked, many offended and irritated; and a sort of dismay, arising from various causes, pervaded the religious denomination with which he was connected, and, with few exceptions, their ministers withdrew from ministerial intercourse with him. A warm and excited controversy followed; his opinions and utterances were denounced and opposed in various forms, and journals and pamphlets carried on the war. A few came out in the pulpit and elsewhere in his defence, and without assenting to his opinions declared themselves in favor of free and independent speech, and opposed his being excluded from the old intercourse merely on the ground of free utterance of opinions discordant with their own.

His views naturally spread in the train of the discussion, as this became more and more widely remarked and followed. A gift of clear and strong statement helped their acceptance, so that they found ready access to many minds. The inspiration of the freedom with which he spoke, and assailed the opinions and dogmas which oppressed and hampered the minds of so many, attracted not a few. His ardent interest in the great questions of humanity then agitating society, especially that of slavery,[1] commended to the ardent partisans in these matters his opinions on more abstract questions. He was naturally connected with the Transcendental party, and generally attended the meetings of the club before mentioned; was connected with the publication of the *Dial*, for which he wrote much, and was associated in social intercourse and intimacy, as he was in the public mind, with many of the prominent members of that party.

[1] [See James Freeman Clarke's chapter on "The Antislavery Movement." — Ed.]

About the end of 1845 he was invited to preach to a congregation in Boston, to afford him the opportunity of teaching freely in a wider sphere, and where more could hear him, the views and doctrines now of so wide interest. He entered on this new position early in 1846. This society, which became known as the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, met first in the Melodeon, afterward in the Music Hall, where for many years he preached to large multitudes with strong and stirring eloquence. Here he gave his views on religion and morals, and on the exciting topics of politics, especially slavery and the fugitive-slave law. On these occasions he attacked unsparingly some of the prominent and distinguished characters of the day, whom he considered treacherous to the cause of humanity.

These practical questions did not, however, draw him away from his theological studies; and in the midst of the warfare he published several editions of his *Discourse of Religion*, the object of which was to present to the community the grounds of belief in the doctrines of what are called Natural and Revealed Religion.[1] This, and other works in the like tone and direction, were widely read and accepted. Many hailed them as a new light to their minds, and found satisfaction in the clear and earnest statement of grounds of belief in what specially concerned their highest nature, and which seemed to afford a more stable and satisfactory foundation than they had before known. Mr. Parker's position in the theological and antislavery controversies engaged him in a very extensive acquaintance and correspondence. Persons from near and far, whom his words had reached, were eager for closer intercourse with one to whom they felt themselves so much indebted. Many came to his house to see and talk with him; and notwithstanding his overwhelming occupations, and the varied and complicated network of his engagements, he rarely denied himself to such, however trifling or unprofitable their demands.

The Sunday services at the Music Hall became a very notable and conspicuous institution of our city. Here he sometimes treated the great problems of religion and life, assailing moral abuses or dogmatic errors; or from week to week, as any great event or occasion bearing on the claims, rights, or duties of humanity came along, — any exciting questions or incidents, legislative injustice, or popular violence, — in that most electric period of fierce excitement he "fulmined" over Boston from his pulpit, or pleaded with gentler appeals in behalf of the elevation and relief of the suffering and distressed in every form. Mr. Parker maintained all this

[1] He thus states the primitive ground of our belief, or rather of our knowledge, of the existence of God. "It may be called," he says, "in the language of philosophy, an intuition of the reason. . . . Our belief in God's existence does not depend on the *à posteriori* argument, on considerations drawn from the order, fitness, or beauty discovered by observations made on the material world. It depends primarily on no argument whatever; on no reasoning, but on Reason. . . . The intuitive perception of God is afterward fundamentally and logically established by the *à priori*, and beautifully confirmed by the *à posteriori*, argument; but we are not left without the idea of God till we become metaphysicians and naturalists, and so till we can discover it by much thinking."

It may also be mentioned, that, in 1847–50, Mr. Parker shared with others the editorship of the *Massachusetts Quarterly*.

varied existence, in spite of failing health, until he was finally obliged to give up his work and go abroad for his health. He died not long after in Florence.[1]

In 1835 Mr. A. Bronson Alcott opened a school for young children at the Masonic Temple in Boston. This was a remarkable and noteworthy experiment, and claims some notice, since marked philosophical thought and a high ideal were embodied in its conception, and in the novel and peculiar way in which it was conducted. Whatever we may think of the success of the experiment, we may say at least, if he failed, *Magnis tamen excidit ausis*. It was founded on the principle of the Platonic philosophy, that all abstract truth exists in the soul of man; and its aim was not to impart knowledge from without, but to educe both truth and knowledge from the mind of the child, where it lies, unrecognized and unknown perhaps, but still existing in a purer form, or less encumbered by errors, than in later life.[2]

The famous ode of Wordsworth on Immortality may almost be taken as Mr. Alcott's creed in this matter. His thought, as shown in this and in various other manifestations, placed him, in the public estimation, very decidedly among the Transcendentalists, and in the category which we presume he himself would choose, if any, of Platonism. The thought, idea, method, and genius of Plato were the especial objects of his admiration and sympathy; and he may, with as much justice as any modern man, be reckoned among his disciples, and has ever reproduced, expounded, and preached his doctrines. He has always most persistently followed in practice the Platonic or Socratic method of teaching or developing truth, — by conversation; having a profound and unfailing confidence in its value, its power, and its efficacy, and laying the greatest stress on these. For many years he has, when favorable opportunities have offered, embraced them to practise his favorite mode of instruction, and to impart the views he holds so important (of the spiritual nature and destiny of man, and his close relation to the divine), at the same time always manifesting a warm sympathy with whatever in literature and religious history he found cognate with his fervent and unwavering faith in man's divine origin and immortal being. These conversations have at times had very impressive and inspiring effects, and have met with a warm response from large numbers, — of late years particularly at the West, where he has found many to welcome his

[1] [See John T. Sargent's *Theodore Parker, the Reform Pulpit, and the Influences that Oppose it.* Boston, 1852; and other references in the note to Parker's portrait in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] A few extracts from the preface to the *Conversations on the Gospels*, which is a sort of record of the course pursued, will show something of the aim and methods of this attempt to educe moral and spiritual thought from the minds of children. "It is," he says, "an attempt to unfold the idea of spirit from the consciousness of childhood, and to trace its intellectual and corporeal relations, its struggles and conquests, while in the flesh. . . . Assuming as a fact the spiritual integrity of the young mind, he [Mr. Alcott] was desirous to place under the inspection of children a character so much in conformity with their own as that of Jesus of Nazareth. . . . It [the record of these conversations] is a revelation of the divinity in the soul of childhood."

presentation of high and spiritual truth. He generally attended the meetings of the Transcendental Club, of which he was an early and zealous member, and contributed some papers to the *Dial*, with the title of "Orphic Sayings." What most deserves our interest and respect in his course and position is his unwavering and unfailing loyalty to the principles of thought of which we have spoken, and his persistent devotion to the highest conception of the soul and the spiritual life.

The position of Miss Margaret Fuller, as producing a marked influence on the mind of a large circle both of the young and of her contemporaries in age, demands some notice. Her conversations, held in Boston with an audience of thoughtful and cultivated women, seem to have been her opportunity. They were continued for several successive winters. It is sufficient to mention some of the topics discussed to show something of their character, or at least their aim, — namely, Greek Mythology, Fine Arts, Faith, Creeds, Woman, Culture, Prudence, etc. She was also at one time editor of the *Dial*. Her influence on the circle she drew around her, especially on her intimate friends, was remarkable, being both intellectual and moral; particularly on women, to whose hearts and minds she seems to have had a peculiar and most direct access. In exciting them to thought and aspiration for higher culture, or perhaps more especially in leading them to disregard some conventional trammels, and in assisting their endeavors to a higher, more religious, and self-sustained life, she found her mission.[1]

Of course this new phase of thought called Transcendentalism had many opponents. Persons of conservative opinions in religion, morals, politics, and literature were disturbed, offended, or disgusted at what seemed to them its pernicious influences on the great interests of society. Some were amused at what appeared to be its extravagances or absurdities; and some attacked its arguments and its doctrines, or criticised what they deemed to be its inconsistencies and false pretensions, in elaborate counter statements and arguments, or they deplored with sincere dislike and apprehension what seemed to them its disastrous tendencies. Others used freely the weapons of ridicule and sarcasm, for which the novelty, to say the least, of some of the utterances of its adherents and organs appeared to offer fair opportunity.[2]

[1] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Among the more decided and declared antagonists of this philosophy, besides Professor Norton, was Mr. Bowen, professor of moral and metaphysical science in Harvard University. Mr. Emerson's *Nature*, which appeared in 1836, gave occasion for a review of the work in the *Christian Examiner*, January, 1837, by Mr. Bowen. As that little book was looked upon as a sort of condensed essence of the spirit of Transcendentalism, and open to all the charges brought against it, Mr. Bowen took the opportunity to oppose the obnoxious system, in an adverse and unfavorable criticism, with charges of novel and unwarrantable language, of new and barbarous words, indicating vagueness and incompleteness of thought in the minds of the writers, and producing obscurity to their readers. Other charges, besides innovation and obscurity, are those of dogmatism and arrogance in the assertion of their opinions. He then goes on to a more direct discussion of the philosophy, to show its shallowness and falsehood, and incidentally eulogizes Locke, whose philosophy was especially assailed and disparaged by

Let us in conclusion glance rapidly at some of the salient features of the excitable condition of mind which characterized the period with which we are dealing. In the sphere of morals, the strong assertion by Mr. Garrison and his followers of first and absolute principles opened the minds and roused the feelings of the community; and while it powerfully moved the sympathy of those favorably inclined by nature or education, aroused the fears, disgust, or bitter hostility of the adverse element. Two parties were thus arrayed in fierce antagonism, which showed itself in excited meetings and conventions on the one side and the other, or, with those of more brutal instincts, in mobs and violence. The discussion of abstract principles, provoked primarily by the Abolition doctrines, soon ran off in all directions, and brought up all sorts of abstract questions and their unqualified application. Thus the whole theory of government, of social life, its arrangements and usages, — questions of the right to take life at all, leading logically to the doctrine of absolute non-resistance, and thus striking at the foundation of all governmental control and organization, — were brought under consideration. So the right of taxation to support a government of force was denied; and with some the Constitution of the United States, as not condemning slavery, — "the sum of all villanies," — was of no binding value. Then followed the denial of the right to take animal life, thus leading to the disuse of animal food and of substances derived to the use of man from the enslavement and slaughter of the brute creation. Then came the question of women having an equal right with men on the platforms of the free societies, which came up most naturally in connection with the broad principles of freedom professed; and this opened the whole question of woman's prerogatives, and of the right to exclude her from equal participation in the duties and offices of society and government. These, and allied questions, led to inconveniences and embarrassments, and sometimes to ludicrous scenes and incidents, of which the hostile critics were not slow to make the most.

Another extreme question, which to some seemed to flow logically from acknowledged principles, as well as from those recognized as the very essence of Christianity, was that of the right to hold and use money, as in-

the opposite party. We give in his own words one of the objections which he, in concert with the popular voice, makes to this philosophy: "The distinguishing trait of the Transcendental philosophy is the appeal which it makes from the authority of reason to that of passion and feeling," — a statement to which the advocates and receivers of this system would doubtless most decidedly object. He also brings a charge which they might not be very anxious to repel, of its being a revival of the old Platonic School. In the *Examiner*, in November of the same year, Professor Bowen returns to the charge, and in a long and elaborate article compares and contrasts the claims of the philosophy of Locke, or that of experience, with that of this new school. In this he pursues substantially the same line of argument and criticism, but in a more extended and elaborate way, and repeats the charges and objections against the Transcendental system and its adherents, — of arrogance, and obscure and unwarrantable use of language. He naturally has a good deal to say of the German metaphysicians, of whom he takes a very unfavorable view; and of Coleridge, too, who among the English thinkers was considered as rather the type of this mode of thought and speculation. [There is a portrait and sketch of Mr. Bowen in the *Harvard Register*, May, 1881. — Ed.]

volving, in substance, consequences inconsistent with human brotherhood. A small journal was published, and continued for a few numbers, called, we think, the *Herald of Holiness*, which maintained the moral evil of the use of money, and by its earnestness and appeals to high moral considerations interested and impressed some minds.

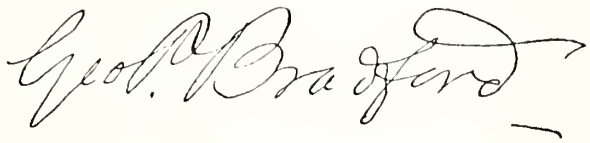
In all this tendency to extremes, and indeed to what may be called extravagances, it is interesting and gratifying to observe that in this region at least there was not that tendency to run into licentious doctrine or practice, or more lax principles of morality, which has sometimes shown itself in times of similar mental and moral excitement. On the contrary, the tendency was to a more strict and even ascetic behavior.

The excitement and interest of this discussion and action of the time reached and pervaded various classes of society, — alike those of high culture and those less educated, but in whom the moral instincts and principles asserted themselves with force, and often in language of rough strength, which was quite current at the time. The Antislavery meetings naturally abounded in specimens of forcible and often rude eloquence, as they had for their staples the exciting and inspiring themes which easily lent themselves to stirring oratory. On their platform might be witnessed a remarkable combination of the higher mixed with the ruder but forcible oratory. Here were, indeed, the refined feeling and feminine dignity of Lucretia Mott and the Misses Grimké; the splendid power, rare brilliancy, glowing words, and trenchant logic of Thompson and Phillips; but also the more rude, but most effective and telling blows of the Goodells and Burleighs and Fosters. That this period has left an abiding influence on the moral and intellectual thought and culture of the country we cannot doubt; and may we not hope, too, that the later, broader, and freer spirit, grafted on the strong and sturdy Puritan stock, will yield rich and wholesome fruits?[1]

[1] Our limits have obliged us to omit the mention of several who deserve notice among those whose teaching or writing has had an influence in modifying, directing, or enlightening the thought of our community, like the Rev. O. A. Brownson, Professor C. C. Everett, and others; but we have chosen to dwell at some length upon some prominent names, rather than furnish little more than a bare catalogue of all who might seem to require notice. We cannot, however, allow ourselves to pass by the name of Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, without some reference at least to her long-continued, disinterested, and unfailing exertions and zeal in promoting everything that promised greater freedom, elevation, and breadth of philosophic, philanthropic, or religious thought or action. We trust that better justice may be done to her character and efficient services than belongs to our subject. Her conversations with Dr. Channing, reported in the volume recently published by her, are in this wise very important, as through various channels they found their way to the minds of a wide circle in the community. This influence was also felt in her teaching, which has ever been characterized by high and ideal aims.

At one time (about 1840) she opened a room for a circulating library and the sale of foreign books and journals. This became a sort of Transcendental Exchange. Persons young and old resorted here, partly to talk with the learned and active-minded proprietor, to get the literary news of the day, the last word of philosophy, of religious literature and thought. Many persons of high culture, or of distinction in the sphere of religious philosophy, philanthropy, or literature, were often here, and likely to meet others, like themselves, interested in the questions then agitating the community, or to talk on the calmer topics of literature and philosophy. Some of Miss Fuller's conversations were held at Miss Peabody's house in West Street.

Though the phase of thought which gave its name and character to this period is no longer so marked and conspicuous, it doubtless gave a permanent and still existing impulse to the mode of thinking and feeling on matters of philosophy and religion. New questions have since arisen to take the place of the old; or more accurately, perhaps, the old ones have passed into new forms and aspects. The hostility and ridicule which it aroused have died away, and its modifying influence is now silently, perhaps unconsciously, felt in many minds to whom it once seemed portentous in its aspect and pernicious in its consequences, and has undermined or lessened the hold of other opinions and doctrines. If we may venture to draw a lesson from a retrospect of the field which we have passed over, when we look back on the angry controversies and bitter hostilities of the past, it may impress upon us that what when novel and strange often seems sinister and threatening, a meteor "shaking from its horrid hair" all sorts of evils and disasters, "may by and by," to borrow the language of another, "take its place in the clear upper sky, and blend its light with all our day."



CHAPTER IV.

THE WOMEN OF BOSTON.

BY MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.

WHEN an English gentleman was asked what seemed to him the most remarkable thing in Boston, he promptly answered, "The Women!" Mary Carpenter said "she did not see what more the women of Boston could ask for," so favorably did their position compare with that of women in any other country.

There is a strong and recognizable type of Boston women whose characteristics are clear and enduring; and the gradual formation of this type may be traced from the earliest periods of the town's history, as in leading individuals those qualities are clearly seen which have made the woman of to-day what she is. The Boston woman inherits from a line of well-bred and well-educated ancestors, mostly English, a physical frame delicate and supple, but enduring. It is capable of great nervous force and energy, and can be made to serve the mind and will almost absolutely. But she is liable to attacks of disease, and under unfavorable conditions her nervous energy degenerates into irritability. More intellectual than passionate, her impulses are under control; and she is reserved and cold in manner, while a gentle purity inspires confidence even before it awakens affection.

Her morality is stern and exacting, and she does not understand the temptations which beset other natures; her own sense of chastity is so high that, like the lady in *Comus*, she walks amid a thousand dangers unheeding and unharmed. She shrinks from contact with evil until it appears as suffering, when duty and benevolence overcome her sensitiveness. She is speculative in theology, while conservative in her tastes; and, though indulging great freedom of thought, is devout in her habits. This conflict sometimes produces a strain upon her feelings too great for endurance, and she seeks refuge in an established church. Perhaps this is only a brief rest in her onward career, or it leads to a life of moral or benevolent activity in which she is content. Her æsthetic nature is serious and refined, preferring the classic music to the modern opera, and pre-Raphaelitism to sensuous

beauty. The subdued style of her dress marks her position in the scale of refinement.

Aristocratic by tradition, she is in danger of becoming exclusive and narrow; but, liberalized by education, she is democratic in her work, if not in her tastes and social habits.

Her hospitality is not free, for her time is precious and her housekeeping orderly; but the old Boston matron made home a radiating centre of goodness and happiness. She gives the name of "friend" carefully, but holds it sacredly. Brissot de Warville said of Bostonians in 1788: —

"They unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. The young women here enjoy the liberty they do in England, — that they did in Geneva when morals were there, and the Republic existed; and they do not abuse it."

The Boston woman is exemplary in her conduct as a wife and mother. Brissot de Warville again says: "Bostonian mothers are reserved; . . . entirely devoted to their families, they are occupied in making their husbands happy and training their children to virtue." He also speaks of their preservation of health and beauty: "I have seen women of fifty with such an air of freshness that they would not have been taken by an European for more than forty. Women of sixty and seventy are sparkling with health." But Boston women are still more remarkable for their virtues in single life. Theodore Parker truly said that he missed elsewhere "his glorious phalanx of old maids."

Boston women have learned to respect work, and a woman can earn her living by labor of any kind, if she be honest, intelligent, and pure in her life, without losing the respect or the companionship of the most refined and respected. Ann Bent and Harriet Ryan[1] — the one a shopkeeper and the other a hair-dresser — are instances within our own memory. Young aspirants in art, however wealthy, seek to sell their pictures, that they may be classed as artists, not as amateurs.

The Boston woman is a representative of New England; and the constant interchange between city and country makes it difficult to draw any sharp distinctions between their inhabitants.

The history of Boston women begins with a young girl, Ann by name, ten years old, who was the first person to leap from the boat which brought over the exploring party from Charlestown, in 1630; and when, as Mrs. Pollard, she died[2] in 1725, aged one hundred and five, there was left behind her a canvas, still in existence,[3] on which the strong hard lines of

[1] She founded a Home for incurable patients.

[2] [Jeremiah Bumstead makes this entry in his Diary: "1725, Dec. 9, old Mrs. Pollard buryed, aged 105. From y^e *Courant*, No. 228: 'Mrs. Ann Pollard, widow of Mr. William Pollard, born in Saffron Walden, in y^e kingdom of England, died Dec. 6, in y^e 105^th^ year of her age. She has left of her offspring 130.'" — *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1861, p. 306. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. I. pp. 84, 521. — Ed.]

the old face indicate a toughness which could well have borne the hardships of the early settlement.

It is not certain that the gentle footfalls of the dearly beloved Lady Arbella were ever heard in what was to become Boston, but we like to recall what manner of woman she and her companions were, as pictured in the story of the voyage which they had just encountered: —

"When the officers were alarmed by the appearance of eight sail supposed to be enemies, the Lady Arbella and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger; but not a woman or child showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to be very great."

She took her full part in all the labors and dangers attendant upon their first landing in Salem; but "the virtues of her mind were not able to stem the tide of those many adversities of her outward condition," and she died about Aug. 30, 1630, deeply lamented by the whole colony. But there were survivors of her sex who bore their part in all the hard labor of the new settlement. "They went once a day, as the tide gave way, to gather mussels and clams on the shore." When Mr. Garrett went to Plymouth, in December, with several men and a girl, in an open shallop, encountering severe cold and storms, the girl suffered, we are told, least of all.

That woman's influence in sustaining the spirits of the colonists was appreciated, is shown by the tender mention of the daughter of Thomas Sharpe: "Boston had not received the like loss of any woman."

Hardly seven years after the settlement the peace of the colony was disturbed by religious troubles. The most distinguished leader of this Antinomian movement was a woman, — Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Marberry, an English preacher, and the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, a man of good estate and mild temper. After all the searching criticism of her enemies, Dr. Ellis[1] asserts "that nothing can be discovered or inferred in this age, from any known record, which sullies her matronly or religious character." Her intellectual endowments were rich, and her personal gifts of eloquence and persuasion very great. Her religious nature having been quickened by the preaching of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright in England, no other minister satisfied her, and she left her home and followed them to New England that she might have the nourishment which her soul craved. She already held "peculiar opinions," for she "vented them" on shipboard, to the dismay of the passengers. On arriving at Boston her eccentricities were reported to the Governor, but she made herself useful "as a woman very helpful in the times of childbirth and other occasions of bodily disease, and well furnished for these offices." Before she appeared in public she had won the confidence and affection of nearly all the members of the Boston church. When she had been thus engaged for about two years, she began to call her friends and converts together, to discuss points of doctrine and strengthen each other in the faith.

[1] [*Life of Anne Hutchinson*, in Sparks's *American Biography*. — Ed.]

Her meetings were confined to women, and sometimes she gathered a hundred. The nominal purpose was to repeat the discourses of Mr. Cotton, and impress them upon the minds of her hearers. She held these meetings twice a week, and at first they were looked upon with general favor; but in the progress of discussion the sermons of other ministers were commented upon and compared unfavorably with those of her favorites, and gradually her own views were presented. Without entering into her theological speculations, we must look through the mists of controversy and the quarrels about words for the real essence of Anne Hutchinson's teachings, for what made her doctrine so welcome not only to the women but to many of the noblest men in the colony. Although expressed in hard, speculative phraseology, as suited the intellectual fashion of the times, yet her real message, as in all true religious revivals, was a re-assertion of the power of the life and the spirit over outward regulations and formalities. Not what you do, but what you are, is the measure of salvation: the covenant of works is of outward forms; the covenant of grace is of inward life. True as this doctrine is in its essence, none is more liable to run into error and extravagance, since the outward life is necessary as expression, test, and correction of the inward feeling. The belief in immediate revelation, which grew out of her spirit and faith, led Mrs. Hutchinson to such extravagant claims as gave occasion for alarm to the magistrates, whose great desire was to keep all things quiet and orderly, that the home government might have no pretext for restricting their liberties.

Mrs. Hutchinson's trial took place in November, 1637, before the full court. William Coddington alone defended her. While her sex was frequently brought forward as a reason against the course she had taken, she was not treated with any courtesy on account of it, but was kept standing until weakness obtained for her the privilege of sitting. Her answers to the charges against her are full of wit and wisdom, and she often confounded her judges with her apt quotations from Scripture. She found her rule in Titus: "Let the older women instruct the younger." The proceedings of the court were arbitrary and severe, but the alarm of the magistrates was real. The Synod decreed, "that though some few women may meet together for prayer and mutual advice, yet such a set assembly as is in practice at Boston is unlawful (when sixty or more meet every week, and one woman takes upon herself the whole exercise)." The court decreed the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson to Rhode Island. Her enemies declared that the judgment of God was seen in some personal afflictions which fell upon her, while her friends equally traced the finger of Providence in the sufferings of the colony. In 1642, after her husband's death, she removed to the Dutch settlements near New Haven, where she and all her family, with the exception of one daughter who was made captive, were murdered by the Indians.

Her influence was very great, and has undoubtedly left its impress upon the life of Boston women to this day. It has been asserted that she was

insane, but there seems no ground for charging her with more than the enthusiasm of a highly wrought and sensitive nature, somewhat bewildered by theological and speculative subtleties.[1]

At a very early period the staid colonists found it necessary to pass sumptuary laws against dress. Roger Williams had enjoined the women to wear veils, but John Cotton especially condemned the practice as not required by Scripture. In Salem his sermon had so much effect that those who wore veils at the morning service left them off in the afternoon. A little later the General Court enacted that "women, not enjoying property to the value of £200, were forbid to wear silk, or tiffany hoods, or scarfs." In 1665 there was such a lack of clothing in the colony that a law was passed, "enjoining all, not otherwise employed, — as women, boys, and girls, — to engage in spinning;" and the selectmen of the town were required to look into the condition of every family and "assess spinners."[2]

About 1648 the nightmare horror of witchcraft began to spread through the colonies, and women were the most frequent victims of the fatal delusion; but the horrors of that story need not be repeated here.[3]

Many of the punishments inflicted on women for other offences were extremely cruel. Dorothy Talboy was hanged for the murder of her child, — although she was unquestionably suffering under religious insanity. Mrs. Oliver "was whipped for reproaching the magistrates," and "had a cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the elders." A severe law against marriages of persons within the degree of relationship prohibited by the Jewish Code, applied to both men and women: —

> "Such man or woman shall be set upon the gallows by the space of an hour, with a rope about their neck, and the other end cast over the gallows; and on the way from thence to the common gaol shall be severely whipped, not exceeding forty stripes each. Also, every person so offending shall forever after wear a capital I of two inches long and proportionable bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary color to their cloaths, and sewed upon their upper garments, on the outside of their arm or on their back, in open view."

Even as late as May 10, 1752, an unfortunate woman was sentenced to stand upon a scaffold for the space of an hour, facing the four cardinal points of the compass a quarter of an hour each. In this situation she was obliged to suffer from the mob treatment so brutal that the historian refrains from describing it.

The most severe sufferers from the old-time legal sternness were the Quaker women; and the names of Mary Fisher, Dorothy Waugh, and Mary Dyer fill us with pathetic sadness, but their story has already been told.[4]

[1] [See further on this controversy, in Vol. I. p. 174. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 483, for instances of sumptuary laws. — Ed.]

[3] [The whole course of "Witchcraft in Boston" has been followed by Mr. Poole, in Vol. II. — Ed.]

[4] [See the chapter by the Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., on "The Puritan Commonwealth," in Vol. I. — Ed.]

Women, of course, shared deeply in the anxieties and sufferings caused by the wars with the Indians. Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, of Lancaster, and her family were taken captive by the Indians. After her release she arrived in Boston, May 3, 1676, and published a narrative of her experience. She says: "The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlewomen and Mr. Usher, whose bounty and charity I would not forget to make mention of."

Owing to these wars, to fires, and the difficulties with the mother country, there was much distress in Boston during the latter part of the seventeenth century; and in 1698 "the town was full of widows and orphans, and many of them are very helpless creatures." It was counted that one sixth of the communicants in Cotton Mather's church were widows. At the same time the former strictness of morals had become much relaxed, and new laws against all manner of indulgence were required. The laws regarding marriage were severe, and bore harder upon women than upon men, — even upon Indian women; but perhaps they were not more unequal than in any other civilized community. The English law against marrying a wife's sister was strictly enforced.[1]

Only one woman became distinguished in literature during this earlier period. Anne Dudley, the wife of Governor Bradstreet, was born in England, in 1612 or 1613. She was married at sixteen, and probably came over in the "Arbella." Her first book was published in London, in 1650, under the title, *The Tenth Muse, lately sprung up in America: Several Poems compiled with great variety of wit and learning. By a Gentlewoman of America.* She had eight children, but still found time for much study and writing. Her poems[2] are mostly versifications of history. The opposition to literary pursuits is shown by the statement in her prologue: —

> "I am obnoxious to each carping tongue,
> Who says my hand a needle better fits;
> A poet's pen all scorn I thus should wrong.
> For such despite they cast on female wits,
> If what I do prove well, it won't advance;
> They'll say it's stolen, or else it was by chance."

A little poem on her children, and another to a bird in contemplation, show a tender feeling for Nature, which, had she lived in happier times for the muse, might have made her a poet of higher rank: —

> "I had eight birds hatched in one nest;
> Four cocks there were, and hens the rest.
> I nurst them up with pain and care,
> Nor cost nor labor did I spare;
> Till, at last, they felt their wing,
> Mounted the trees and learned to sing."

[1] [This law was dropped at the revisal of the laws of marriage and divorce, in 1785. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 461, and the authorities there cited. — Ed.]

"The dawning morn with songs thou dost prevent,
Sets hundred notes into thy feathered crew;
So each one tunes his pretty instrument
And warbling out the old begins anew.
And thus they pass their youth, in summer season,
Then follow thee into a better region,
Where winter 's never felt by that sweet airy legion."

From the close of the religious persecutions to the actual outbreak of the Revolution we find very slight indications of woman's presence and influence. The town was growing in wealth and importance, and there was evidently an increase of aristocratic society. Oldmixon says: "A gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their houses, their furniture, their tables, their dress and conversation, which perhaps is as showy as that of the most considerable tradesman in London." Women must have contributed to this pleasing condition of society, and an occasional mention of funeral honors shows the deference which was paid to them. Hannah Waldo is recorded as "a pattern of every female virtue." The Castle guns were fired in honor of the funeral of Governor Shirley's wife, and Dr. Colman commemorated her at the lecture before the General Court.

Women were not unfrequently conspicuous in church affairs.[1] The Sandemanian Society was largely composed of women; and "thirty men and twice as many women seceded with Samuel Mather" when he withdrew from the Second Church.[2] Yet the church had treated women rather harshly, for "under certain accusations they were obliged to stand up with a white robe or sheet over them, while the minister read aloud their confession. Afterward, such brethren and sisters who should fall into scandal were allowed to confess to church members only." Women were also active in charity: Dorothy Saltonstall left to the poor two hundred pounds, and twenty pounds to be laid out in Bibles and Testaments to be distributed among poor children. She was also the executrix of the will of her husband, Mr. John Frizzell. Both Increase and Cotton Mather preached funeral sermons on the death of Mrs. Foster, "who dispensed her alms with an uncommon generosity." A French observer of Boston customs says "that men make it not a business to pay court to women;" but I find no indications of special want of courtesy, — the tone is that of polite society.

There was much extravagance in dress as the colony grew in years, and hoops had attained to such a size in 1726 as to be severely attacked. Yet the women were not unwilling to give up their finery, and during the periods of suffering in Boston they wore calicoes and chintzes.[3] When the people, somewhat later, resolved to avoid the use of articles taxed by the English Parliament, women as well as men gave up wearing expensive mourning;

[1] Mary Tomlins purchased a pew in the North Church; and women are often mentioned as belonging to different churches.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 229. — Ed.]

[3] [See Mr. H. E. Scudder's chapter in Vol. II. for the costume of the Provincial Period. — Ed.]

and at the funeral of Mr. Ellis Callender "his sister appeared with no other token of mourning than a black bonnet, gloves, ribbons, and handkerchief."

Judge Sewall's Diary gives a lively picture of home life during the early part of the eighteenth century. His thirteenth child was born January 2, and on the 16th his wife treats her midwife and women. "They had a good dinner of boiled pork, beef, fowls, roast beef, turkey, pye, and tarts, for seventeen guests." Hannah Greenleaf was the midwife.

But the woman of elegant society was not the only representative of her sex in days a century agone. We hear of Mrs. Avery, and many others, keeping shop; and in 1794 a writer of the *Historical Journal of the American War* says a word in behalf of his countrywomen, who bring various articles of home manufacture into Boston for sale. They are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and often obliged to part with goods at a low price, or barter them for articles of luxury. He urges that stands be erected for them near the market.

When the soldiers raised by Governor Shirley to aid General Braddock, in 1755, had been three months in the field, news of their sufferings from want of suitable clothing reached their friends. Immediately a number of young ladies volunteered their services to the town authorities, offering gratuitously to make garments for them. When, some years later, the Stamp Act was repealed, it is said that the subscription to pay the debts of poor prisoners was set on foot by "a fair Boston nymph;" and fifteen hundred families discontinued tea, to thwart the designs of the Parliament in taxing it.

There are slight indications which show that women, or rather ladies, in Boston were less robust in the days of which we now write than they were a century earlier. Whether this was owing to the stove, which then, as when Judge Sewall wrote, "made the room comfortable," or to a growing disposition to consider women as delicate and ornamental, I cannot say; but Blanchard, who visited Boston in 1780, reports: —

> "The women are tall, well formed, of regular features; their complexion is generally *only pale*, without any color. They have fewer attractions and less ease of manner than our French women, but more dignity. . . . At twenty years of age the women have already lost the freshness of youth; at thirty-five or forty they are wrinkled and decrepit. . . . I found that the great part of those who had died were under fifty years of age. There were a very few of sixty, almost none so old as seventy, and I saw none older."

Slavery existed, indeed, nearly through the last century; but its evils were much mitigated by the kindness of the women, who took pains to protect their slaves. In 1699 Mrs. Eunice Wait went to Judge Sewall, expressing her desire that her slave Sebastian might marry Mrs. Thair's Jane; but Mrs. Thair insisted "that Sebastian should have one day in six for the support of Jane, his intended wife, and her children, if it should please God to

give her any." The demand was compromised for five pounds per annum. At a somewhat later day a little ragged child was purchased in the slave market by Mrs. John Wheatley, whose heart was drawn to the little modest, sickly-looking girl, and she took her home and taught her to read and to write. When she was fourteen years old, Phillis began to write poetry. She was encouraged by her mistress in her efforts to learn, and she soon attracted the attention of clergymen and other literary gentlemen. Flattery and attention did not spoil her, but she remained modest and thoughtful. She went to England for her health, where she received even more attention, and her poems were printed, with an engraved likeness of herself. Her poem addressed to the Earl of Dartmouth is noble in sentiment and smooth in versification. She also wrote complimentary verses to General Washington, who sent her a courteous reply. She made an unfortunate marriage with a colored man of pleasing appearance, but selfish disposition and idle habits, and in the troubled time of the Revolutionary war she sank into poverty and distress. Mrs. Wheatley's family tried to relieve her when they learned of her wants, but death soon put an end to her trials. She was never called by the name of her unworthy husband, but always Phillis Wheatley.[1]

During the Revolutionary period we find no woman taking a very prominent position in affairs in Boston; but how deeply interested they were in the struggle, how full of patriotic ardor and willingness to bear their share of toil and privation, is shown by the letters and journals of the day, especially those of Mrs. Quincy and Mrs. Adams.

Dorothy Quincy married John Hancock when he was in concealment with Samuel Adams in Fairfield, Connecticut. A fortnight after the birth of her first child she travelled by carriage to Philadelphia with her husband, then chosen President of the first Congress. When her husband informed her, in great secrecy, that it was thought it might be necessary to burn Boston to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, and that he had consented to the destruction of all his property, she was so calm as to be able to attend Quaker meeting immediately after. At a later day she was accustomed to receive all classes at her Saturday salt-fish dinner. When Admiral d'Estaing was invited to breakfast with Hancock, and requested permission to bring all his officers, to the number of three hundred, Mrs. Hancock, being unable to procure milk enough for her table, sent out her servants to milk all the cows on the Common, with directions to send any persons who complained to her. It is said that the owners were rather amused than offended by the proceeding.

Of an interesting circle of women associated with Boston during the stirring periods of the last century, and some of whom still live for us on Copley's canvases, we may not happily forget Mrs. John Murray, who published both poetry and dramas, and Mrs. Edmund Perkins, who was celebrated for her fine intellect. Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren, the sister of James

[1] [See Mr. Goddard's estimate of her capacity, in another chapter. — ED.]

Otis, was one of the most gifted women of the time; and although born in Barnstable and living mostly at Plymouth, she yet mingled in Boston society, and published some of her writings there. Copley depicts "her face as delicate and intellectual; hair and eyes dark. Her head-dress is of white lace with white satin ribbons. Her robe is of dark-green satin, with pompadour waist trimmed with point lace. Full plait at the back hanging from the shoulders, and sleeves of point lace; front of skirt and sleeves elaborately trimmed with puffings of satin." She wrote, at a later day, a voluminous history of the *Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations*, in three volumes, the last of which was published in 1805. It is written with great spirit and enthusiasm, though in a quaint style. She gives a clear narrative of events, and paints the leading characters in strong colors. She is not lukewarm in her feelings. She was a Democrat, and a warm admirer of Jefferson. Some of her remarks on John Adams were so severe that he defended himself in a series of letters. She replied rather sharply to him, and the dispute was so warm as to endanger their friendship; but after some time their intercourse was pleasantly renewed.[1]

The women of Boston had then little opportunity for methodical education; but they read a great deal, and, having little new reading, faithfully studied the older English literature, especially that of Queen Anne's time. They also saw a great deal of good society; and as the best men were deeply engaged with serious questions of political government, the ladies, who shared their anxiety, gained much from their conversation, and acquired great power of thought and expression. Mrs. Abigail Smith Adams,[2] wife of John Adams, born in 1744, says: "I never was sent to any school; I was always sick. Female education in the best families went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few and rare instances music and dancing." She says: "It was fashionable to ridicule female learning, and I regret the trifling, narrow, contracted education of the females of my own country." Ladies had a great propensity for letter-writing, which was considered an elegant accomplishment, and they used classical names as signatures, — Miss Smith's being Diana, and afterwards Portia. Calliope, Myra, Aspasia, and Aurelia were used by her friends. Mrs. Adams saw the evil to the Republic from the abasement of one half of its people. She says, somewhat playfully, yet evidently with deep meaning, in 1776: —

"I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies, for, whilst you are proclaiming peace and good-will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives. But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, — very liable to be broken; and, notwithstanding all your wise laws and maxims, we have it in our power not only to free

[1] [These letters are printed in 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. She was the wife of James Warren, the President of the Provincial Congress. — Ed.]

[2] [A portrait of Mrs. John Adams is one of those given in Griswold's *Republican Court*, p. 169. It is also in the *Familiar Letters*. — Ed.]

ourselves, but to subdue our masters, and without violence throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet, —

> "'Charm by accepting, by submitting sway,
> Yet have our humor most when we obey.'"

Again she says: "If we mean to have heroes, statesmen, and philosophers, we should have learned women." Mr. Adams seems to have felt the power of a wife to mould her husband's fortunes, for he closes a letter on the subject by saying, "A smart wife would have put Howe in possession of Philadelphia a long time ago."

Occasionally the women of Boston, like the men who destroyed the tea, took the righting of wrongs into their own hands. Mrs. Adams writes, July 31, 1777: —

"There is a great scarcity of sugar and coffee, — articles which the female part of the State is very loath to give up, especially whilst they consider the scarcity occasioned by the merchants having secreted a large quantity. There had been much rout and noise in the town for several weeks. Some stores had been opened by a number of people, and the coffee and sugar carried into the market and dealt out by pounds. It was rumored that an eminent, wealthy, stingy merchant (who is a bachelor) had a hogshead of coffee in his store, which he refused to sell the committee under six shillings per pound. A number of females — some say a hundred, some say more — assembled with a cart and trucks, marched down to the warehouse, and demanded the keys, which he refused to deliver. Upon which one of them seized him by his neck and tossed him into the cart. Upon his finding no quarter, he delivered the keys, when they tipped up the cart and discharged him; then opened the warehouse, hoisted out the coffee themselves, put it into the trunks, and drove off. It was reported that he had personal chastisements among them; but this I believe was not true. A large concourse of men stood amazed, silent spectators of the whole transaction!"

To come down somewhat later, Miss Eliza Susan Morton, afterward Mrs. Josiah Quincy,[1] visited Boston in 1795, and speaks of the delightful society which she met there. She was married in 1797, and came to Boston to live. She writes: —

"Thanksgiving Day, December 1, 1808. On this day of thanksgiving there is no subject which excites more in my mind than the location of our family in New England, and, above all, in Boston."

This circle of Boston ladies showed a warm interest in literary women. Mrs. Quincy and Miss Lowell had become acquainted with Mrs. Grant's letters from the Mountains. They caused an American edition of her work to be published in 1809, and sent the profits to the author. Mrs. Quincy remarked that while assisting Mrs. Grant they ought to remember that their own countrywoman, Hannah Adams,[2] the author of many valuable works,

[1] [The first Mayor of that name. — Ed.]

[2] [There is much about Hannah Adams in Woods's *Brookline*, p. 159, etc.; and a portrait of her is in the gallery of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. See Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*. — Ed.]

was braiding straw for a living. They exerted themselves for her benefit, and succeeded in obtaining subscribers to a life annuity. But "it was requisite that the subscriptions of married women should stand in the name of their husbands." Miss Anna Cabot Lowell was another highly accomplished woman, whose letters and poems were greatly admired: she died in 1820. Mrs. Quincy also exerted herself to have Miss Edgeworth's *Moral Tales* republished in Boston. While she took an active interest in her husband's political affairs, she also taught her children two hours every morning, during which he was in attendance at the Capitol. When Lafayette visited Boston she, as the Mayor's wife, welcomed him in "an elegant and appropriate speech." She was early convinced of the sin of Slavery, and was also interested in philanthropic movements, being for thirty years a subscriber to the Boston Female Asylum. There was of course, in these early days of this century, a prodigy. Miss Helen Sheafe, who died in 1802, wróte a poem at thirteen years of age, in answer to the question, "What is Religion?" But the few did not make the rule, and John Quincy Adams could write, —

> "Oh that our young ladies were as distinguished for the beauties of their minds as they are for the charms of their persons! But, alas! too many of them are like a beautiful apple that is insipid to the taste."

The nineteenth century, so remarkable for its rapid progress in the emancipation of the masses from political tyranny, and of the negroes from personal slavery, has also brought great improvement in the condition of women in Boston, as elsewhere. Legislation in regard to women has been greatly amended. The common law of England, which generally prevailed here, was very unjust to married women, who were almost without personal rights in property. But one of its provisions, which held the husband responsible for the crimes of his wife, was disregarded. Mary Dyer suffered in her own person.

Yet there was in Boston society a strong feeling in favor of protecting the pecuniary interests of married women. In 1640 the General Court "voted Mrs. Winthrop three thousand acres of land," although her husband was then living. In the early part of this century the best men of Boston took care to secure a provision for their daughters by will, and to settle their property beyond their husbands' control. Jonathan Jackson used his influence to promote this custom, and as he had given an expensive education to his sons he left his money to his daughters.

But until 1855 a woman could secure the possession of her own property only by placing it in the hands of a trustee, to whose will she was subject, or by making, before marriage, a contract with her husband by which he relinquished his claims to certain designated property. This custom of protection gave some security to wealthy women, but it afforded no relief to the large class who might earn money and be at the same time at the mercy of an extravagant or intemperate husband. In 1855 a very broad statute

was passed, giving a woman the right to hold all property earned or acquired by her, independent of the control of her husband. Some troublesome restrictions in regard to selling her property and conducting business still remain; but the main points are secured.

The laws of inheritance are not yet equalized. A woman cannot, without his consent, deprive by will her husband of more than one half of her personal property; nor can she take away his life interest in her real estate if they have had a living child.

The laws of divorce have been much improved, although still defective, and bearing unequally upon the wife. Even more unequal is the effect of guilt in the marriage relation. Samuel E. Sewall says: "She, if guilty, can under the most favorable circumstances retain only a naked subsistence out of her property; while he, if guilty, may still retain the bulk of his wealth."

In education the advance has been even greater than in legislation in regard to property. Although as early as 1635 measures were taken to establish a school in Boston, yet, as we have seen, there was very little provision for the education of women. Whether from law or custom, girls do not seem to have attended the schools to any great extent. Wealthy families had their children taught at home. The public school system as we now know it was established in 1789. "Children of both sexes were to be admitted, boys for the year round, and girls from April to October;" to be taught to spell, accent, and read prose and verse, and also to be instructed in English grammar and composition. In 1806 the number of scholars in all the schools was 1,760, — boys 1,030, girls 730. No child was admitted under seven years of age. This rule led to the establishment, in 1816, of Sunday schools, for instruction not only on religious subjects, but as preparatory to the grammar and writing schools. This provision being found inadequate, primary schools were established and placed under the care of female instructors, thus introducing this important feature into the school system. In 1825 the number of pupils was 6,220, of whom 2,723 were girls. The girls received rewards at the expense of the city.[1]

The inequality in the provision of education for girls led the Rev. John Pierpont, then Secretary of the School Committee, to propose the establishment of a high school for girls. He advocated his proposition on grounds of "general expediency, and as an object of ambition and of profitable employment of three years of life now inadequately occupied." The school was organized, with Mr. Ebenezer Bailey as master, in 1825. Two hundred and eighty-six candidates presented themselves for examination, but many of them were unprepared for a course of study higher than that of the grammar schools. As many of the best candidates were selected as the single room would accommodate. This school was "kept open eighteen or nineteen months, during which time not one pupil voluntarily quitted it, nor would as long as they could be allowed to stay, except in case of marriage."

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

This is said to have been the first institution of the kind ever established. Many wealthy pupils were taken from private schools to attend it, and many entered the grammar schools to fit themselves for it. A great impulse was given to all the schools. The conduct of the school was entirely satisfactory, and many of the young women fitted themselves to be teachers, and sought employment in the primary schools. The sub-committee reported in its favor. But the very success of the school was its ruin! Mayor Quincy reported against it, on the ground of the large numbers who would desire to attend it in future, and the consequent expense to the city. The cost of each pupil was eleven dollars per year. Mr. Quincy proposed as a substitute to add one year to the course of the grammar schools. The high school for girls was abolished.[1] The cost of this experiment was about $4,500. Public feeling was very much excited on the subject. Many young Irish girls had entered the school and had proved fine scholars; and an outcry was raised against higher education for the poorer classes, as unfitting them for domestic service. The failure of this school, however, stimulated improvement in the private schools.

Schools for young ladies had been largely devoted to teaching the accomplishments. Modern languages and polite literature were studied, and *Paradise Lost* was parsed until hardly a shred of it remained. Mrs. Rowson's school was one of the most famous of the early schools, and was succeeded by Dr. Park's. Mr. Cummings was one of the first to aim at more thorough education, and he introduced the study of Latin: the well-known Mrs. Ripley of Waltham was one of his pupils. Mr. George B. Emerson established his admirable school; and Mr. Bailey, bitterly disappointed at the abandonment of the public high school, opened his private "High School for Girls," which continued for ten years. The monitorial system had attracted much attention and been partially introduced into the public schools. Mr. Wm. B. Fowle opened a school for girls on this plan. These two schools, having about a hundred pupils each, introduced many important features, such as gymnastics, dancing, greater attention to solid branches, with scientific experiments, and great care in sanitary arrangements. It would be impossible to number the many excellent schools which have succeeded. The Chauncy Hall School, originally established for boys, introduced the principle of co-education in 1862. The number of female pupils has risen to sixty-four, the maximum number.

I must indulge myself in speaking of one teacher whose influence has been far-reaching in society, as well as in education, — Mrs. Anna Cabot Lowell, — born Jackson. When suddenly reduced from affluence to poverty, she refused generous offers of support from both her own and her husband's family, and chose to earn an independence for herself and her children by teaching. Her social position and fine education at once brought her pupils, and her school was a triumphant success. She made $3,000 the first year. She did not aim at having a fashionable school, and

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on this point. — Ed.]

discountenanced any pretensions of caste. Her great power lay in arousing the minds of her pupils to intense action, and awakening a love of literature which they never lost. Their enthusiasm for their teacher lasted through their lives. When the Civil War broke out, her sons gave their lives to their country, while she and her daughters labored in the sanitary and freedmen's work. Her influence has been to elevate the office of teacher, and no Boston woman can ever feel that she is lowering her social position by following in her footsteps.

The subject of a Girls' High School was not again brought forward for several years, when the demand for teachers had greatly increased, and Normal Schools had been established by the State. A city normal school for girls was founded in 1852, but the great general demand for high-school education caused its change, three years later, into the "Girls' High and Normal School."[1] Colleges and professional schools being now largely open to women, a strong need of classical education was felt, and in preference to opening the old Latin School to them, a Latin School for girls was opened Jan. 1, 1878.

The employment of women as teachers gradually extended from the primary to the higher grades, and was very much stimulated by the exertions of Horace Mann, on the Board of Education. The highest positions are still closed to women, only one woman — Miss Baker — having ever been appointed head of a grammar or high school.[2]

The subject of co-education does not seem to have been agitated at an early period. When girls went to school at all, the arrangements were made rather from convenience than from theory. In 1830, however, a separation on the basis of sex was made in a few of the grammar schools. This movement was very unpopular in some sections of the city. In 1836 six out of ten of the grammar schools had both boys and girls; and the Committee of that year gave two memorable statements in their report, — one, "That the children of our own city have *ever* been distinguished for moral and upright behavior;" the other, "That the tendency of mixed schools is to demoralization!" Since that time the grammar and high schools in the old part of the city have been divided by sex; while in the suburbs, some of them are mixed and others are not.

The Boston University, established in 1869, has from the first opened its doors freely to women in all its departments. In 1879 it had in its colleges one hundred and forty-seven young women, to four hundred and fifty-eight young men. One female student was in law, two in theology, thirteen in music, and forty-eight in medicine. Two ladies serve on the Board of Cor-

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on this point. — Ed.]

[2] In 1880 one thousand and eighty-nine women were employed as teachers in the public schools, and one hundred and eighty men. Of the pupils in the normal and high schools, there are one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one girls, to one thousand and twenty-five boys; in the grammar schools, thirteen thousand four hundred and twelve girls, to fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-two boys; and in the primary schools, nine thousand five hundred and forty-two girls, to eleven thousand one hundred and eighty-eight boys.

porators, and several as official visitors in the Faculties of liberal arts and medicine, and as managers of the hospital connected with the medical school. The aim of the Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women was to found free scholarships at this university. It has supported seventeen young women wholly or in part, but has as yet no endowed scholarships.[1]

The Women's Education Association, founded in 1872, has done a large and varied work. Among other good things, it has established training schools for nurses, diet kitchens, and cooking schools, the Harvard Examination, the Women's Laboratory, and a summer home for working girls. Mrs. Ellen M. Richards was the first female student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which now admits women to all its classes. She is doing a great work in teaching science, as well as in her investigations of adulteration in food. The Society for Encouraging Studies at Home, founded by Miss Anna E. Ticknor, extends its benefits throughout the land. It would indeed be tedious to enumerate all the opportunities for instruction now open to women in Boston. They are sufficient, if well used, to lead to a full recognition of her rights to education everywhere.

The Lowell Institute has done a great deal for women, by simply opening its fine courses of lectures to the citizens of Boston without distinction. It was once thought improper for ladies to attend lectures, and even as late as 1838 the Lyceum audiences were so rude as to make it disagreeable for ladies to gain admission. Mrs. Lowell, the wife of the founder of the Institute, was herself a fine scholar, studying even the higher mathematics with her husband.

In the first half of our century the ladies of Boston were more literary in their tastes than scientific or artistic. They read much, and were familiar with modern languages. Sophia Dana (Ripley) had classes in history, which were highly enjoyed by her pupils. The lectures of the "Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge," and afterward those of Richard H. Dana, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and other eminent literary men, were largely attended by ladies. Miss Sarah Freeman Clarke, the first Boston woman who excelled in landscape painting, and one of the few persons who had the benefit of Mr. Allston's instruction, writes: "In 1827, I think, the first Athenæum exhibition of pictures was announced. A joyous whisper went about that ladies might go to this exhibition unattended by a gentleman. Advanced womanhood will smile at this concession, granted by I know not what social power." This marks a great difference in social customs.

Until within forty years no decent woman entered the pit, now raised into the parquet, of the theatre, and an insulting regulation made the third row infamous. Now ladies go freely into all parts of the theatre, with or without gentlemen, and Kean riots and the rule of the pit are things of the past. Two Boston women — Mrs. Snelling Powell and Miss Charlotte Cushman — have proved that the position of an actress is not inconsistent with the

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter. — Ed.]

noblest private virtues and the purest reputation. On the fifth of May, 1852, ladies were for the first time invited to a public political dinner; it was given in honor of Hon. John P. Hale.

Few women have received professional education, except in medicine. As the courts decided that a woman could not even be appointed justice of the peace, the law held out little attraction to those seeking occupation. Few have sought to enter the Church, although one woman has attended theological lectures at Harvard, by favor. But many women have become religious teachers without professional preparation, and it is no unusual thing for a Boston pulpit to be occupied by a woman. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of Nov. 1, 1880, says: "Pulpits in Boston, in the suburban towns, and in cities as far distant as Lowell, were occupied by delegates to the Women's Temperance Convention to the number of twenty-four; and prayer-meetings were also led by them." The "Women's Industrial and Educational Union" hold a service on Sunday afternoons, conducted entirely by women. The city of Anne Hutchinson does not find them to be disturbers of the peace.

The Woman's Board of Missions, incorporated in 1869, has done a large work. Its President, Mrs. Albert Bowker, and its leading Vice-President, Mrs. R. Anderson, as well as many of its officers, are Boston women; but its work is not confined to the city. The Home Missionary Association has also done a good work.

The advancement of women in the profession of medicine during the last forty years has been so great, that it must have more than a passing word.

The work of women in caring for the sick began very early in the history of the colony. Anne Hutchinson was physician as well as preacher. The practice of midwifery was mostly if not entirely in women's hands. But, as years went by, provision was made both for the elementary and professional education of men, while that of women was neglected; so that as the city progressed in knowledge and prosperity, the demand for the educated and scientific physician drove the midwife, who had only learned her business in the school of experience, out of practice. The most remarkable midwife was Ruth Barnaby, who practised her profession forty years in Boston, dying in 1765, at the great age of one hundred and one years. Mrs. Alexander, a highly-educated Scotch physician, well known in the city in the early half of the century, was probably the last midwife whose skill was recognized by the higher classes in Boston, although many still find employment among families of moderate means.

Harriot Keziah Hunt, born in Boston in 1805, gave a great impulse to the employment of women in medicine. A woman of great original vigor of intellect, warmth of heart, and strength of will, she was driven to the study and practice of medicine by her observation of the treatment of disease in her own family. She was educated at private schools, and herself taught in one for a short time. Through the illness of a beloved sister she became acquainted with two English physicians, Dr. Valentine Mott and

his wife. She lived with them for several years, learning all she could of the theory and practice of medicine. Miss Hunt was never strictly a practitioner of any school. A Swedenborgian in faith, she believed much in spiritual and mental influences upon health. Her object was to cure her patients, and she gave them whatever counsel and treatment she felt they needed. Her admirable good sense and warm sympathy often enabled her to "minister to a mind diseased." That she was not more scientifically educated was not her fault, for she repeatedly petitioned to attend the lectures of the Harvard Medical School, but without success. She took an active interest in all reforms, protested against paying her taxes without the right of representation, and being called to court as a witness, she refused to stoop under the chains placed around the court-house in the time of a fugitive-slave case. Full of oddities and humor, her ringing laugh was a tonic more refreshing to her patients than her bitter herbs, and she sometimes recalled them to life by refusing to entertain the idea of their dying. If she failed to gain a good medical education herself, she appreciated its importance, and tried to secure it for others. She aided in the formation of a society for medical education, which established a college in 1850.

I have not space to trace minutely the interesting history of this college. In 1859, Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska was invited to the chair of obstetrics; and by her wish a clinical department was formed, of which she took charge. At the end of three years she resigned her position, the clinical instruction was abandoned, and the "New England Hospital for Women and Children" was established. Dr. Lucy E. Sewall was its first resident physician. This institution still affords almost the only opportunity in New England for the clinical instruction of female medical students. In 1879 ninety-one resident students had received their practical education here, and entered into practice. Several women came from Europe for the purpose of enjoying the educational advantages of the hospital. It has now nine women on its medical staff. The New England Hospital Medical Society numbers thirteen physicians, resident in Boston, with a few from other places.

In 1873 the Trustees of the Female Medical College, by permission of the Legislature, transferred its property to the Boston University. As the Homœopathic Association was the only medical society ready to comply with the terms on which the funds could be transferred, the school was placed under its care. All its advantages are as freely opened to women as to men, and a good opportunity is here offered to study all branches of medical science, as well as the theory and practice of homœopathy. A small hospital gives opportunity for cliniques. About sixteen women of this school are now in practice in Boston, many of whom have recently graduated.

The fourth charitable society in Boston, and the first founded by women, was the Boston Female Asylum, suggested by Mrs. Hannah Stillman. The first meeting was held at the house of Mrs. Jonathan Mason, Sept. 26, 1800. The most wealthy and influential ladies of the

city united in this work, and they were cordially aided by the wealthy citizens with money, and by the clergy, who helped to make their anniversary meetings occasions of public interest. Two curious provisions are found in their Charter: —

1. "That every married woman belonging to said society who shall, with consent of her husband, receive any of the money or other property of said society, shall thereby render her said husband accountable therefor to said society.

2. "That the treasurer of said society shall always be a single woman."

Miss Elizabeth Eaton, well known as a teacher, organized the first Moral Reform Society. The influx of foreigners of the lower classes, which increased very rapidly from 1830 to 1840, bringing so much of want, suffering, and vice in their train, aroused deeply the feelings and consciences of the ladies of Boston. Their exclusive and elegant lives looked to themselves selfish and unfruitful in contrast with the world of human needs brought to their very doors, and they began to ask themselves earnestly as to their duty in regard to it.

Dorothea Lynde Dix was much influenced by the preaching and life of Dr. Channing. She was a woman of delicate physical organization and sensitive nerves, but of fine culture, and was an accomplished teacher. In the midst of her pleasant literary labors she was suddenly impelled to a life of self-sacrifice for others, and turned her thoughts to the condition of prisoners in her own city and State, whom she wished to visit. Every one discouraged her from pursuing her purpose, telling her that it would be at the risk of her life; but she persevered through the winter, and in the spring she saw signs that her labors had not been all in vain. From finding persons of unsound mind confined in the common jails, her attention was turned to the condition and treatment of the insane. In pursuance of this object she visited Europe in 1834, and also travelled over all the United States. Her exertions have contributed largely to the establishment of hospitals for the indigent insane. She was appointed superintendent of nurses during the Civil War, and at its close resumed her philanthropic labors. In spite of her early feeble health she is still living, although she must be about eighty years old, and continues to be interested in her benevolent work.

It would be impossible to name all the important benevolent institutions in Boston in which women have taken part, often originating them, although it is deemed wiser that both sexes should unite in carrying them on. Every sect has done its part. The Catholic Sisters of Charity are constantly engaged in works of mercy, and the Jews never allow their poor to beg of others. The same zeal is shown in the temperance reform, in the work of the North-End Mission, and in the North-End Industrial Home founded by Mrs. Harriet L. Clarke (Caswell), in the care of foundling and destitute children, in the prevention of cruelty to animals, and in many other ways. But it is alike impossible to separate the work of Boston from that of the Com-

monwealth, or of its women from its men. Yet the reflex action upon the life and character of Boston women is very marked: a lady hardly thinks her life complete unless she is directly aiding in some work of reform or charity.

The working women of Boston form a very large and important class, whose influence is too great to be overlooked. While the higher classes of work receive recognition and reward greater than in any other time or country, there are yet many evils pressing heavily upon shop-girls and sewing women,[1] and those employed in serving others. Educated women and men are earnestly engaged in efforts to improve the condition of these classes by industrial education, by opening new avenues of employment, and by promoting a better understanding between employers and employed.

While we cannot willingly admit that the social morality of our city is degenerating, we cannot deny the fact that the efforts of philanthropists and reformers seem as yet only to have revealed the appalling extent of vice, rather than to have devised any practical means of checking it. The question is too profound and too painful to be discussed here, but on its righteous solution depends the future permanence and well-being of our civilization.[2]

In literature, the progress of women has been so rapid that now a woman's name on the titlepage of a book hurts neither its acceptance with the publisher nor its sale to the public. The results of higher education are marked in the superior style and method in the writings of younger women. Of the many women who have contributed to this success, I can name only a very few of those who have most influenced the character of Boston women.

Lydia Maria Francis (Child), born in 1804, exercised a powerful influence both by her character and her writings. An ardent lover of beauty and truth, she was also eminently practical in her work and simple in her habits. Her career was long and brilliant. She was the first (in 1821) to publish a novel, — *Hobomok*, — founded on the Pilgrims' history, and the first to edit a child's magazine. Her *Juvenile Miscellany* was the delight of the children, while her *Philothea* charmed romantic maidens, and her *Frugal Housewife* was the oracle of New England kitchens; it was published in 1829, and had reached its thirty-third edition in 1855. She consciously perilled all her literary success by entering upon Antislavery work, and her *Appeal for that Class of Americans called Africans* made a profound im-

[1] By the last census of Massachusetts, in 1875, there were one hundred and seventy-nine thousand six hundred and fifty-seven women in Boston, — an excess over men of nearly seventeen thousand. It is difficult to classify working women accurately, but it is estimated that there are now twenty thousand sewing women and shop girls in Boston, and twenty to twenty-five thousand engaged in domestic service of all kinds. There are but twenty-eight governesses reported.

[2] The latest authorities estimate that there are in Boston five thousand women who may be classed under the usual phrase of "lost women," — women who are lost to morality and happiness themselves, and who are the sources of evil to others. The deep interest on this subject should look to the prevention of its causes.

pression upon the best minds of the community.[1] Her *History of the Progress of Religious Ideas* is also a work of great value, which has only been thrown into the shade by the great light shed upon the subject since she published it. The loveliness of her life and character was equal to her intellectual ability. She died in 1880.[2]

Although the influence of Sarah Margaret Fuller (Ossoli) — born in 1810 — was by no means confined to Boston, it was here fully felt; and it lingers in all the life and character of Boston women. Rarer than her great intellectual attainments was her power of vitalizing all knowledge, by bringing it into relation with life, not in its practical, but in its ideal aspect. "Is life rich and full to you?" was the question she asked of her pupils; and the heartfelt answer was: "Yes, since I have known you." The Greek mythology, German philosophy, the old English drama, Italian poetry, Beethoven's music, all became part of every individual, as of the universal, life. This transcendental elevation of common life stamped itself strongly on those who came within her influence. Her book on *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* is yet the high-water mark of thought on that subject. She was a leader in the great intellectual movement which introduced to us German literature and philosophy, and at one time edited *The Dial*, whose value has only increased with age. She died, by shipwreck, in 1850.[3]

We still have with us Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, born in 1804, wittily and wisely called the "Grandmother of Boston," for what Boston woman cannot trace much of her best intellectual life to this fountain? The daughter of a scientific father and a mother who was an accomplished teacher, her whole life has absorbed and radiated education; and to her is due much of the highest religious, intellectual, and moral influence of Boston, as well as the wide-spread knowledge of Froebel's thoughtful and humane system of education. Her individual deeds of kindness and her zeal for humanity almost overshadow her literary merits, until we observe the depth of her historic and philosophic learning, the vigor of her thought, and the strength and purity of her style. Her little book-shop, in West Street, was at one time the resort of the most distinguished literati of Boston, as well as of eager school-girls, who bought more pencils than they could use for the sake of a chance word from its presiding genius.

Cornelia Wells Walter (Richards) took editorial charge of the *Boston*

[1] [See James Freeman Clarke's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [There is an appreciative sketch of her by Colonel Higginson in *Eminent Women of the Age*, 1868. Her novel, *The Rebels*, deals with events in Boston during the Revolution, and may be compared with Cooper's *Lionel Lincoln*, a story covering Bunker Hill and other events of the same time. — Ed.]

[3] [Colonel Higginson furnishes a kindly sketch of Margaret Fuller in *Eminent Women of the Age*, 1868. Her chief memorial is the *Memoirs*, a joint work by R. W. Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and William H. Channing. Some autobiographic memoranda, etc., of her later years will be found in *At Home and Abroad*, edited by her brother, A. B. Fuller, in 1856. Also see Horace Greeley's *Recollections of a Busy Life*, ch. xxii.; his introduction to her *Papers on Literature and Art*; O. B. Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*, ch. xi. For her family connection, see the Fuller Family in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1859. — Ed.]

Daily Evening Transcript immediately on the death of her brother, its first editor, in 1843, but the fact was not publicly announced until the first of January following, when her success was assured. This is believed to be the first instance of the successful conduct of a daily journal by a woman. Miss Walter was the avowed and responsible editor, taking that position at the request of the proprietors and publishers of the paper. The paper gained both in circulation and reputation, especially for the truthfulness of its notices, under her management, which continued until her marriage, in 1848.

Women have advanced very rapidly in the plastic arts. Miss Goodrich[1] took high rank as a miniature painter in the early part of the century; her portrait of Daniel Webster is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In 1851 a school of design for women was established, with the object of fitting them for practical work. Owing to various causes, the school was not a success; but a class in practical design, under the charge of the Lowell Institute, is freely open to women, who share in its honors and employments. The Normal Art School and the School of Drawing and Painting, at the Museum of Fine Arts, afford to women full opportunity for thorough study. William M. Hunt, for many years the leading artist in Boston, formed a school of women distinguished for the energy and vigor of their work. He gave a great impulse to the pursuit of art, not as an amusement, but as an earnest vocation. In sculpture success has been quite as marked. Harriet Hosmer's fame is European, and Anne Whitney's statues[2] do not "fear the light of the public square." Decorative art has gone beyond all possibility of measurement. Warville "hopes the Boston women may never, like those of Paris, acquire 'la maladie' of perfection in music, which is not to be attained but at the expense of the domestic virtues." Education in music has come, but we hope without the predicted loss of domestic happiness.

Sumptuary laws have been abandoned, but there have been earnest attempts to reform the dress of women, so as to secure greater simplicity and healthfulness. While no great revolution in costume has been affected, and fashion still dictates absurdities, a woman in Boston may now dress simply and reasonably without attracting unpleasant attention by her short dress or thick boots.

The Antislavery movement brought out the influence of women in a remarkable degree. That party which recognized their equal right in the councils of the society was predominent in Boston through the influence of its great leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Angelina Grimke (Weld) was the first woman who spoke in the State House on behalf of the slave. The charm of her voice, her earnestness, and refine-

[1] [Or Goodridge, as the family seem to have written it. See her sister's account of her in Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, 78. She was born in Templeton in 1788, but came to live in Boston at the age of twenty-four, and lived there till 1851, when she removed to Reading, where she died late in 1853. — Ed.]

[2] Her Sam Adams, for instance.

ment won all hearts. Maria Weston (Chapman), Lucy Stone, and Abby Kelley (Foster) soon made Boston familiar with the accents of truth from woman's lips.

But there was a comic side to this grand drama. Abby Folsom, that "flea of conventions," made herself heard in every meeting, till one longed for the authority of the Puritan elders to banish her from the State. She was a working woman from New Hampshire, with some noble qualities of mind and heart; but an over-excitable brain and lively temper made her like "the old woman who never was quiet." She was sincere in her reform work, and would take the drunken woman from the gutter, and shelter her in her own poor home.

Eliza Lee Cabot (Follen), Mary Goddard (May), and numberless other women of Boston were unwearied in raising money for the Antislavery cause by fairs, which they knew how to make occasions of great social enjoyment.

During the late war a woman's branch of the Sanitary Commission was organized in New England. Mary Dwight (Parkman) was its first president, but Abby Williams May soon took her place, which she held till the close of the war. With unwearied zeal Miss May presided over its councils, organized its action, and encouraged others to the work. She went down to the hospitals and camps to judge of their needs with her own eyes, and travelled from town to town in New England, arousing the women to new effort. Then might be seen young and old, rich and poor, bearing bundles of blue flannel through the streets, and unaccustomed fingers knitting the coarse yarn, while the heart throbbed with anxiety for the dear ones gone to the war. A noble band of nurses volunteered their services, and the strife was as to which should go soonest and do the hardest work. Hannah E. Stevenson, Helen Gilson, and many another name became as dear to the soldiers as that of mother or sister. A committee was formed to supply the colored soldiers with such help as other soldiers received from their relatives; and when one of the noblest of Boston's sons passed through her streets at their head, his mother "thanked God for the privilege of seeing that day." The same spirit went into the work of educating the freedmen. Young men and young women, the noblest and the best, went forth together to that work of danger and of toil. These experiences stamped the character of Boston women anew.

The political rights of women have not been forgotten during the whole of this century, although this interest has been postponed to the more pressing dangers produced by Slavery. Seeing the necessary outcome of the doctrines of the last century embodied in the Declaration of Independence, Mrs. Adams had made the comparison of theory with practice in her day. The first Women's Rights Convention in Boston was held June 2, 1854. Since that time agitation has been maintained by means of public meetings, distribution of printed matter, petitions to the Legislature, and the publication of newspapers devoted to the subject.

The *Woman's Journal*, originally edited by Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, and Lucy Stone, with the aid of William Lloyd Garrison and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, has now continued for ten years, and is increasing yearly in value and influence. The legislatures have, through their committees, given respectful hearings to the petitioners for equal suffrage; and a bill for committing the question to the people has been frequently reported by the committee, but has not yet gained a majority in the House. Special efforts to enable women to hold various offices have been more successful; but the history of women's appointment on boards of charity, as inspectors of prisons, alms-houses, etc., belongs rather to Massachusetts than to Boston.

In 1873 four ladies — Abby W. May, Ann Adeline Badger, Lucretia Crocker, and Lucia M. Peabody — were elected to the School Committee of Boston. This Committee, doubting the legality of these elections, asked the opinion of the City Solicitor, which was given against them. When the School Committee organized, they reported against the right of the ladies to their seats. This decision produced great excitement, especially in ward fourteen, which had given Miss Peabody a large vote. The House of Representatives then asked for the opinion of the Supreme Court; this was given to the effect "that there is nothing in the Constitution of the Commonwealth to prevent a woman from being on the School Committee." At the urgent entreaty of her constituents, Miss Peabody carried her claim to her seat to the Supreme Judicial Court, which decided that the Legislature had made the School Committee judges of the qualifications of its members "finally and without appeal," and dismissed the case. Before the close of the session the Legislature, almost unanimously, passed a law rendering women eligible on the School Committee. At the next election Misses May, Crocker, and Peabody, with the addition of Kate Gannett (Wells), Lucretia Hale, and Mary Safford (Blake) were elected and took their seats on the Board. The following year the School Board was reduced to twenty-four, to be voted for by the whole city, instead of by wards. Misses Crocker, Hale, May, and Peabody were re-elected. Miss Peabody received the largest vote ever cast for a member of the School Committee. Miss Crocker was appointed one of the new Board of Supervisors, and consequently resigned on the Committee. At the expiration of the terms for which they had been chosen, neither Miss Hale nor Miss May were re-elected; and so strong was the feeling aroused by this fact, that the friends of education petitioned the Legislature for a law similar to that recently passed in New Hampshire, enabling women to vote for school committee. This law was passed in the winter of 1879, and nearly a thousand women in Boston voted under it that year.[1] The mayor courteously forbade smoking at the polls during the morning hours, and the women generally found the act of casting their ballots unattended by any disagreeable circumstances. A Massachusetts

[1] The official account of the action of the School Committee may be found in their Report for 1874.

MRS. HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

School Suffrage Association was organized in 1880, "to make school suffrage effective for the good of the schools." Miss Crocker was reappointed Supervisor at the expiration of her term of office, and Miss Peabody was re-elected on the committee in 1880. On Miss May's retirement from the board, Governor Talbot appointed her on the State Board of Education.

It is impossible in brief space to give an idea of the charm of Boston women in society. Many a foreign traveller has borne witness to it, and many old residents now love to recall the memories of those "who made this world the feast it was" in their youth. But Boston women were then eminently delicate and reserved, and little public record remains of their lives. Eliot, Lyman, Quincy, Sullivan, Amory, are names which at once call up visions of dignified womanly culture and poetic beauty.

Miss Emily Marshall became more widely known than any other lady, simply for her social attractions. Her charm of manner even more than her beauty influenced all who approached her, whether high or low; the hackmen were so spell-bound with admiration that they forgot to open the door of her carriage. She was neither a coquette nor a tyrant, but remained always winning and unaffected, commanding respect as well as love. She married Mr. William F. Otis, and died young.

The late Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis was less truly Bostonian in her manners. She had lived much abroad, and learned the art of entertaining guests simply and agreeably, and was also active in public matters. She took part in the fair for the Blind Asylum, and in 1840 roused the women of Boston to work for the completion of Bunker-Hill Monument. She helped to raise a fund for securing Mt. Vernon to the nation, partly by a successful ball, which brought $10,000. Her patriotism was always enthusiastic; she persuaded the State authorities to make Washington's birthday a legal holiday, and she always held a reception on that day. During four years of the Civil War she had charge of the Evans House as a place of reception for goods and money.

A new feature in Boston society is the establishment of social clubs. Of these, the most celebrated is the New England Women's Club, of which Mrs. Caroline M. Severance was the first president. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, distinguished both in literature and reforms, now fills that position. In its life of twelve years it has done much to encourage the formation of similar unions, as well as to promote all good causes, and to produce greater union among women of similar tastes and aims.

We may look with some complacency upon the history of women in our dearly beloved city for the last two hundred and fifty years, in spite of the blots upon its brightness which we have been obliged to point out; and surely never before to women were nobler opportunities open than those which the near future promises.

Edmah D. Cheney

CHAPTER V.

THE DRAMA IN BOSTON.

BY WILLIAM W. CLAPP.[1]

THE history of the Drama in Boston presents many features of interest to the general reader, though it can scarcely be said to contain any elements of absorbing interest, or to present issues of vital importance when viewed as one of the component features of the growth of a city. A hundred years have not passed since it possessed with us "a local habitation and a name." In the early days of Boston the lovers of amusements were not sufficiently numerous to warrant even the strolling theatrical manager from England in hoping for a remunerative investment by seeking to introduce dramatic entertainments; and when the population increased sufficiently to promise success, the opposition to stage performances was not only an inherited prejudice on the part of the majority of the people, but prohibitory legislation prevented the erection of a theatre or the presentation of a play.

Cotton Mather, as early as 1686, in his preface to his *Testimony against Profane and Superstitious Customs*, says: "There is much discourse now of beginning stage plays in New England." It was not for many years after this warning note was sounded that any attempt was made to give dramatic entertainments with a view to invite the public and to render it pecuniarily profitable. The opposition to plays in England by the Puritans had been marked. Actors were whipped at the cart's tail. Macaulay says that the Puritans drove imagination from its last asylum. They prohibited theatrical representations, and stigmatized the whole race of dramatists as enemies of morality and religion. This spirit of intolerance was naturally inherited by the descendants of the Puritans in New England. Plays were performed in

[1] [Colonel Clapp published a *Record of the Boston Stage* in 1853. The Boston Public Library has for some years preserved files of Boston play-bills. The principal books throwing light upon the history of the Boston Stage, and upon the careers of those who have been associated with it, are the *History of the American Theatre*, by William Dunlap; *The Polyanthus*, by Hon. J. T. Buckingham; Ireland's *History of the Stage in New York;* Cowell's *Thirty Years among the Players;* Blake's *Historical Account of the Providence Stage;* *The Stage*, by J. E. Murdock; *Players of a Century*, by H. P. Phelps, of Albany, N. Y.; and the *Lives* of nearly all the prominent actors of the last half-century. — ED.]

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